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The life of the prisoners of war, brought together in such numbers as no previous conflict has ever known, is a unique aspect of the World War that is of absorbing human interest. The story is told here by the American who, from August, 1915, to June, 1919, devoted his whole time to the welfare of the British, French, Russian, and Americans in German prison camps.

WITHDRAWN

IN THE PRISON CAMPS OF GERMANY

"I Was in Prison, and Ye Visited Me"



Russian Boy Prisoner

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H675

IN THE PRISON CAMPS OF GERMANY

A Narrative of "Y" Service among Prisoners of War

CONRAD HOFFMAN

Secretary, International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations in Charge of Prisoner-of-War Work in Germany



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FOREWORD

Four years spent in Germany during the War in service to the Allied and American prisoners of war there, brought many interesting experiences and innumerable opportunities for observation worthy of recording in more or less permanent form. Arriving in Berlin in August, 1915, to take up prisoner-of-war work as Secretary of the War Prisoners' Aid of the Young Men's Christian Association, the writer, although an American, was able to continue in the service uninterruptedly until the conclusion of the War. Another eight months after the armistice was signed were spent in service to the Russian prisoners of war still held in Germany, the author finally leaving Berlin for the States on June 10, 1919. Urged by associates and friends to put these experiences in writing, he finally consented, daring thereby to add another one to the thousands of war books which have already appeared, in the hope that the uniqueness of the experiences would prove of genuine interest to readers.

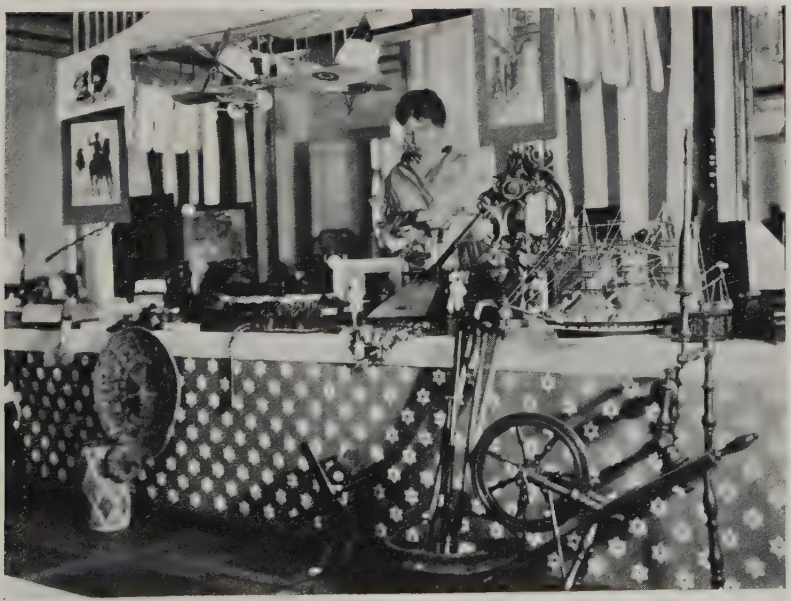
Lest a wrong impression be created as to the extent of the service actually rendered on behalf of the Allied prisoners of war, attention is called at the outset to the following facts regarding the numbers and character of the prisoners among whom work was done. With some 2,800,000 prisoners of war, representing twenty-nine different nationalities, distributed in 150 camps and several thousand working detachments, and with never more than thirteen secretaries, the maximum staff of workers permitted, it is obvious that all prisoners could not have been reached. Most humbly and frankly the writer admits that much was done; but in contrast to that which should have been done it was a discouraging and well-nigh insignificant little. In fact, the efforts put forth and the results accomplished were so infinitesimal in the light of the need that discouragement was ever prevalent.

The story of the work as told herein, with its many details of services rendered, may create the impression that all were served, but such was far from being the case. Many, no doubt, were

benefited directly or indirectly, but many more perhaps never heard of the work or knew that such a relief work was being done on their behalf. It was impossible, with the resources and men available and permitted, to do anything at all commensurate with the needs and the demands. The service rendered stands on its own merits.



The Eleven Y Secretaries Comprising the Flying Squadron



H. R. H. The Crown Princess of Sweden in Booth Exhibiting Articles Made by Prisoners of War

CHAPTER I

THE FLYING SQUADRON

July 3, 1915, was a memorable day at least for eleven American Y M C A secretaries who sailed on that date from New York for England to engage in war relief work. The group was known as "The Flying Squadron"; their task, relief work on behalf of the prisoners of war in England and Association work for the British soldiers; their term of service two months. Before departure much was said concerning the sacrifice which the individual secretaries were making in giving up their summer vacations for this service to European brothers then in awful combat.

The "Squadron" was the result of a European trip of investigation in the warring countries by Dr. John R. Mott in the fall of 1914. Inspired by what he had seen to the conviction that relief work, especially on behalf of the hundreds of thousands of prisoners of war, was an imperative and Christian necessity, he immediately proceeded with the organization of such work. Early in 1915 Mr. C. V. Hibbard and Dr. A. C. Harte were sent over as advance agents to investigate possibilities of service and to secure necessary permissions for the work. Two camp secretaries were quickly set to work, and in response to their direct appeals for men the "Squadron" was sent as the first contribution of the American Y M C A movement to the European men under arms. Little did one realize that these men were to become the forerunners of several thousand other Association workers to be sent overseas in the subsequent years of the Great War.

Those who composed the personnel of this "Flying Squadron" were all moved by the high ideals of Christian service which the opportunity offered. How utterly remote at that time was the thought that America, too, would become involved in the struggle! Through years of discussion on the moral equivalent of war, or through indifference occasioned by lack of contact with the dangers of war, Americans were inclined to condemn war and its cruelties, and especially its terrible wake of suffering and agony inflicted

upon the innocent ones—mothers, wives, and children of the men giving their very life-blood at the front for the cause which they regarded as righteous and their own. At that time America had little, if any, interest in the principles at stake. Ignorant of and unsophisticated in European diplomacy and political intrigue—our knowledge was largely drawn from a few more or less elementary histories of high-school or college days—Americans could not comprehend the antagonism and hatred, the jealousies and ambitions, that were liberated by the fateful shot of Serajewa. We of the "Squadron" utilized the ocean trip in endeavoring most assiduously to brush up on European history by reading, as part of the training in preparation for the overseas work, the books comprising our library. These books included Hazen's "History of Europe since 1815," Lowell's "Government of England," Poincare's "How France Is Governed," and von Bülow's "Modern Germany." The fact that we were reading these books served as a frank confession of our ignorance of European life and history.

At the time of our departure the position of America was one of neutrality, for as yet America had no part or parcel in the struggle which was shaking Europe to its very foundations and which was threatening to overthrow many of the institutions laboriously built up through centuries of bloody history. The invasion of Belgium and the sinking of the Lusitania had aroused a wave of protest and sentiment against Germany, but as yet this had hardly crystallized into a conviction. They were horrible incidents of the war and were to be expected, so it was assumed, as Sherman's hackneyed and famous slogan "War is hell" was nonchalantly repeated by way of explanation.

Impartial service to the combatants on both sides was the "Squadron's" desire and function. All were actuated by the highest ideals of service, but we were without conception of the real meaning and horrors of modern warfare, and were woefully ignorant of all that awaited us in the coming months. Thus we arrived in England early in July, 1915. Some proceeded immediately to the prisoner-of-war camps where civilian Germans who had lived in England and who were caught at the outbreak of the War were interned. Others of the "Squadron" were assigned to the British Y M C A staff for service on behalf of the thousands of Tommies crowding into the vast and numerous training

camps—Tommies who a few days or weeks previous were awkward, raw recruits, but who were soon to battle with the pick of the trained, disciplined, and goose-stepping German soldiers and to demonstrate that they were a fair match for them, in spite of their comparatively short period of training.

On the night of our landing in Liverpool we were confronted for the first time in our trip by war-time regulations. True, before landing we had to run the gauntlet of a rather strenuous passport examination, which had been a long drawn-out and tiresome procedure. We planned to leave Liverpool early in the morning for London and had, therefore, retired rather early. About midnight we were aroused by a knock at the door and told that we had failed to report at the police headquarters in accordance with the regulations of the place. These required that all aliens arriving in any port town of England must report at the police headquarters within twenty-four hours after arrival. This we had neglected to do, for we had seen no notice to that effect, nor had we been informed of the existence of such a regulation. As we were leaving early in the morning there was no time to register at the police headquarters before our departure, so nothing remained but to get up, dress, and proceed to the police station, which we found after considerable search through the dimly lighted streets. After this experience we invariably made it a point to inquire as to existing regulations whenever we came to a new city or town. Naturally we laughed at the whole incident as more or less of a good joke on us. What a bane of our existence were these reports to police headquarters to become for some of us in the subsequent months!

Those of us who proceeded to the prison camps had had visions of the possibilities for service which a camp would present, but none of us were prepared for what actually confronted us in the way of opportunities. Our most sanguine hopes had not conceived of such possibilities. Visions of Libby Prison conditions such as some of us had were quickly dispelled as we visited these camps in England. Food conditions were good, organization efficient, equipment as good as in many of the mobilization camps for the British Tommies which we had seen. The lack of privacy and the monotony of the camp, both typical of prison life, were the features hardest to bear. In most of the camps we visited the prisoners

had begun to organize various activities, such as schools, theatricals, athletics, and religious services, but all these were in an embryonic stage and needed assistance, outside help, and encouragement. It was our task to stimulate interest and larger participation, as well as to provide such supplies as were needed for the development of the work. New activities were frequently promoted, such as garden contests, ways of developing the competitive spirit in athletics, promotion of work for the sick, organization of handicraft departments, and the like. Our function as camp secretary was largely that of organizer, promoter, and friend, the connecting link, as it were, between the prisoner of war and the camp officials, as well as the outside world.

Prison camp life implies monotony, stagnation, despair. Various agencies, such as the Red Cross and allied organizations of the homeland, worked from a distance, sending needed supplies, but confining themselves largely to food and clothing relief. The Association which had sent us to the camps attempted to do its work through the personal contact of its representatives with the prisoners themselves. This naturally implied a work within the camps. To help break the monotony of camp life, to keep the men active in body, mind, and soul, and thus to avoid stagnation and despair—these were the aims and the scope of the work of the camp secretary. The hearty and sincerely grateful cooperation of the prisoners in the proposals made by the secretaries was evidence that this type of service was appreciated and needed. Within the camps the men seemed to have no incentive unless it were the hope of escape. Time hung heavy. The barbed wire barricades on all sides, depriving them of liberty, were depressing and cruelly exasperating. Many of the prisoners in the course of years of such confinement fell victim to what was called by them "barbed wire sickness." This manifested itself in various ways. Personally, I have seen prisoners who were the best of friends in the early days of imprisonment develop into the most bitter enemies, even threatening to murder each other. Insanity and mental derangement were not uncommon, caused not so much by maltreatment as by the mere fact of deprivation of liberty and uninterrupted intimate association with the other prisoners of war, with no chance of ever being alone.

Civilian prisoners of war, men interned because of nationality,

suffered most intensely. There seemed to be no justification whatsoever for their imprisonment. It was not an uncommon occurrence to find such a civilian whose son was fighting in the army of the country which had interned him. The expatriation of the families of these men, which accompanied the internment was equally, if not more, cruel. Women and children, often born in England but German by virtue of marriage, unable to speak a word of German and not knowing a soul in Germany, were thus sent to Germany simply because they were German citizens. On the other hand, English women and children in Germany were similarly expatriated. The majority of the interned men had committed absolutely no offense. They were interned because they happened to have been born German or English respectively. Torn from home, all family ties broken, their business ruined or confiscated, behind barbed wire for years, and finally shipped to the land of their birth, more or less a strange land due to the many years of separation—such was the cruel fate of many a man.

The writer recalls the pitiful appeal of such a repatriated man who called at the office. He implored us for some kind of work—anything, if only dishwashing, whereby he could at least make enough to live. He had been a university professor prior to his internment. It was natural that men placed under such trying circumstances should have welcomed the services which the Y M C A through its camp secretaries endeavored to render. Similarly, the military prisoners of war, men captured at the front or taken in sea battle, welcomed most whole-heartedly the efforts to help them make their enforced imprisonment interesting and, above all, profitable for each man. The writer will not take time to enter into details here regarding his work among the Germans in the British prisoner-of-war camps. It was work well worth while, and one which proved of tremendous significance on entering Germany to engage in similar work for the Allied prisoners of war. Nothing proved of greater value than to be able to relate to the German authorities the work done on behalf of German prisoners in England, and it served to open many doors in Germany for the promotion of our work among the Allied prisoners which would otherwise no doubt have remained closed. In England the offer to work on behalf of the German prisoners of war was usually well received by the authorities; in the

camps themselves we were given most liberal support and permissions.

The transfer of civilian prisoners to the Isle of Man, where some 30,000 were to be interned, led to our desire to go there. The British authorities gave us all necessary permissions, and carrying these and a letter of recommendation from the British War Ministry, one of the members of the "Flying Squadron" and myself proceeded to the Isle of Man. We were to investigate the possibilities of service to the German prisoners of war, and to organize the work if conditions warranted.

However, we very soon discovered that the situation was not as simple as we had thought. We were most courteously received by the secretary of the Governor, but after ten days' futile effort to secure his or the Governor's sanction to visit the camps, left completely baffled by the official and diplomatic maneuvers of the authorities. It seems that the Isle of Man has a type of home rule, and, while a part of Great Britain, is more or less independent so far as its own affairs are concerned. Although some 30,000 German civilians, the vast majority of all those held in England, were interned on the Isle of Man, the Young Men's Christian Association was never able to secure permission to carry on its work there.

CHAPTER II

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF BERLIN

My contract called for two months' service. I was, furthermore, scheduled to return to my regular position at the University of Kansas in time for the opening of the term, about the middle of September. Therefore the call which came to me to proceed to Germany, while welcome, was still difficult to accept. To do so implied remaining in Germany for the duration of the War, or at least for an indefinite period of time. True, in 1915 few people conceived it possible for the War to continue a year longer, certainly not several years more. Desire for additional experience, and the pull of the opportunities in the new field as indicated by the great need, however, helped to bring an affirmative decision. Especially was this the case when headquarters reported they would adjust matters with my Board of Directors, to whom I was obligated to return in the fall.

Instructions given me called for my departure for Germany via Holland on a Monday; but on coming to the steamship company's office to purchase my ticket, I was informed that a special permit from the British Home Office to leave the country was necessary before they could sell me a ticket. Nothing daunted at this difficulty, I serenely inquired of the agent the location of the office, and asked how long the shipping office would remain open, thinking to return during the afternoon after having secured from the Home Office permit to leave that night. The man in charge had a good laugh, informing me that it would take at least three days to get the necessary permit; furthermore, that the Home Office closed at noon and that I would have to postpone my visit there until the following morning. Even then I little realized what was in store for me. Next morning I called at the Department for Permits, which was temporarily housed in wooden barracks in the courtyard of the Home Office building. Hundreds of Dutch, French, and Belgian people were there before me, apparently on a similar mission. My expectations of getting through quickly

dwindled rapidly. I had to wait an hour and a half before my name was finally called as a signal that it was my turn. I was then conducted by a man on duty to one of the officials in charge. Said official proceeded to "pump me dry" concerning my mission, my family history, the object of my trip to Holland, etc. After careful notation of all facts had been made and a close scrutiny of my passport completed, I was politely instructed to return on Friday, three days later, for my passport and for information as to whether a permit for my trip would be granted. In the meantime my passport was retained at the Home Office. The American Embassy in London did everything possible to facilitate my trip, making arrangements, among other things, for my passage through Holland and into Germany. Finally, on Saturday night, all was in readiness for my departure. I left via Tilbury Docks, London, for Flushing.

It was one thing getting into a foreign country as a neutral, but quite a different thing getting out again. I had supposed that the detailed scrutiny to which I had been subjected at the Home Office before the permit to leave the country had been granted completed the necessary red tape, but such was far from being the case. On arrival at the railway terminal leading to the docks all passengers had to run the gauntlet of four different officials before they were even permitted to approach the pier.

My fellow-travelers were largely women and children, the families of Germans who had been interned. Such swarming and crowding as we tried to hurry the tedious process of inspection of passports and baggage! No one was allowed to take more than ten dollars in English gold, and naturally no letters for a third person whatsoever. All written and printed matter was scrutinized most cautiously.

With baggage examined and approved, and our passports properly endorsed, we had to submit all for final inspection to two other officials before we were permitted to board what I supposed was the steamer, but which proved to be merely a tug. This we discovered later was to take us out to the steamer lying at anchor somewhere in midstream. On board the tug all was dark and quiet, for there had been a Zeppelin raid the previous night. There was none of the shouting and bustle ordinarily attendant upon the going to sea of a passenger steamer. After

all passengers had passed the inspection and were aboard the tug, we steamed out into the darkness with as little noise as possible. Soon we sighted the big, dark hulk of our steamer looming ever larger as we approached. We drew up alongside and then were transferred from tug to steamer, the whole process being carried on in mysterious quiet. It was two A. M. when I finally rolled into my bunk, just four full hours after having come to the pier.

All along one had been fully conscious of the danger of the trip. When I purchased my ticket it was with the understanding that I relinquished all claims for damages in case of accident or death in transit. The precautions as to the location and use of life-saving belts, which were in evidence everywhere on board ship, forced upon us the realization that submarine danger was imminent. On the trip over we passed many war vessels and in pulling into the Dutch port we had to pass between two Dutch warships, apparently guarding the entrance to the harbor. Silent and vigilant, day in and day out, they did duty, keeping watch that Holland's neutrality should in no way be violated by the belligerents. On the sand dunes along the shore we saw many sentinels silhouetted against the sky in silent and solitary watchfulness for enemy craft. Thus war inflicts heavy expenditures on neutral countries, which must inaugurate stringent measures for safeguarding their neutrality.

A hurried three days were spent in Holland, during which I visited one of the large refugee camps, where Belgians who had fled before the German invasion were housed. Several hundred thousand Belgian refugees were thus taken care of by the Dutch people, who taxed their resources to the limit in order to provide for these Belgian men, women, and children; these were absolutely destitute, home and household had been destroyed and they now possessed little more than the clothing on their backs. In the camp visited one learned that every week twelve to fifteen babies were born, and one could not help but wonder what their fate would be. The large barracks were partitioned off with carpet-bagging into individual rooms which served as homes for Belgian families, and here these babes were born. The camps were equipped with school, church, and amusement facilities. Food and clothing were largely furnished by the Dutch people themselves. In addition, many thousands of families were taken into

private homes and cared for. Holland did her utmost to provide adequately for these refugees, and the service which she thus rendered will never be forgotten by the Belgians who benefited thereby.

As we boarded the train at Amsterdam bound for the German frontier, speculation among my fellow-passengers was keen as to the nature of the inspection to which one would be subjected at the frontier. It was rumored that the regulations had been greatly intensified and made more rigorous. Details of how spies had been caught, the mode of personal body examination, and the like, were all vividly told by those who had recently crossed the border. The thrill of excitement in anticipation of sights to be seen and experiences to be had grew as we approached Bentheim, the frontier station through which we were to pass on our way to Berlin.

Our wildest dreams or speculations as to the examination at the frontier, however, had not conceived what actually awaited us. It was microscopic in detail and thoroughness. Each and every individual was examined as only German scientific thoroughness for details and minutiæ could conceive. From the inner band of my hat to the soles and heels of my shoes, including all between these extremities, nothing escaped scrutiny. Ushered into a small private booth with a German soldier in attendance, I was compelled to undress piece by piece, each garment as it was removed being carefully examined by the attendant official. All pockets had to be emptied. Women inspectors were employed for the inspection of women travelers. Not a single scrap of paper, whether blank or written upon, or even a newspaper used to wrap up various articles, was permitted to be retained. Books, even my Bible and photographs—all were temporarily confiscated, to be sent to my address later, no doubt after having been subjected to most careful inspection. As for baggage examination, nothing could have been worse. The same occurred in the large Customs House rooms. As trunks and suitcases were opened and one article after another was taken out and held up for all to gaze upon, while the officials carefully examined it for hidden papers or forbidden supplies, many a traveler was placed in a most humiliating position and forced to blush as the secrets of his baggage thus became the objects of public gaze. I recall the ordeal

of one German lady who had just arrived from Brazil with four trunks full of her belongings, the grueling inspection of which lasted fully an hour.

One was next ushered into the presence of an official in civilian clothing, no doubt a secret service man; he attempted to ferret out one's secret thoughts. Cross-examined to the extreme by him, one had to be expert or callous to avoid baring all of one's innermost thoughts, so far as one's political status was concerned. The whole procedure was carried on in a most courteous but business-like manner, with a high-handed atmosphere of superiority of the officials in charge that smacked of Prussian militarism, as we had conceived it.

After several hours' delay caused by these examinations, I boarded the German train waiting for the passengers, which was to take me to Berlin. The train was held until all passengers had gone through the grueling mill of inspection and had boarded the train.

As we pulled through the country in the fully equipped train, including diners and sleepers, one could not help but be impressed by the high state of cultivation of all fields and the general splendid up-keep of all farms. The villages and cities through which we passed were liberally beflagged and garlanded, and everywhere throughout the land church bells were tolling. This was being done, so I learned, in token of the recently proclaimed victories of the German armies in their advance into Russia. The occasion of the celebration was the capture of Kowno, Wilna, Georgeowitsch, and Minsk—cities which fell into German hands after the decisive routing of the Russians at the Mazurian Lakes battle. I learned later that this method of observance was always utilized whenever a victory at the battle front was reported. Shrewdly and wisely holidays were granted the school children on such occasions. No more effective means could have been employed to educate and train the children to worship military power and prowess. It was just one of the many methods employed to militarize the people and to win their allegiance to the militaristic policy of the Government.

As we continued our journey towards Berlin one was more and more impressed by the evidence of German thoroughness, orderliness, and efficiency everywhere apparent. Aside from the sol-

diers one saw at every railway station, and the relatives bidding farewell to departing soldiers, it was hard to realize that we were in a country at war with a large part of the world. Organization and preparedness seemed so thorough that the emergency of war had had comparatively little effect on the everyday routine of the nation's life. Berlin itself proved a marvelous revelation, with its brilliant lights, its busy thoroughfares, and its crowded cafés and restaurants. It was in marked contrast to the London which I had left, where innumerable recruiting and war loan posters in brilliant colors, streets darkened at night for fear of Zeppelin raids, and searchlights flashing fitfully across the inky blackness of the night skies in search of lurking death-dealing danger overhead, reminded one that the country was at war.

While London was comparatively dead so far as night life was concerned, Berlin was gay and throbbing with life. All was ablaze, theaters and café life never more gorgeous and populous. A war decree had prohibited all public dances for the duration of the war, so that dancers, deprived of their favorite form of entertainment, sought the theaters and movies and cafés for amusement. Here the usual great variety of cakes and drinks could still be had. Whipped cream was abundantly served with coffee, chocolate, and cake; but the emergencies of war were to sound the death decree for whipped cream very soon. After October, 1915, it was no longer served in public. Business seemed more alive than ever; department stores were crowded with a seemingly prosperous public anxious to spend money. At the time of my arrival in August, 1915, no food restrictions, with the exception of bread rationing, were enforced. Excellent meals of the heavy German variety were to be had in all restaurants and hotels. The a la carte menus offered an infinite variety of food. Berlin was a busy, bustling, and prosperous metropolis. The upkeep of the streets, parks, and public places was vigilantly and scrupulously maintained. Shop windows contained elaborate displays of expensive luxuries in clothing, jewelry, furs, knickknacks, and art subjects. Aside from the presence of multitudinous soldiers and a shortage of good autos and taxis, life appeared normal.

In numerous store windows, especially those of newspaper offices, large maps showing the location and general position of the battle fronts were displayed. The movements of the troops were

indicated by means of colored-headed pins. At all hours of the day great crowds of Germans could be seen industriously studying the maps and conversing with one another on the movements indicated: here the western front, there the eastern front, and over yonder the southern front were shown. What a wonderful education in geography was thus unconsciously given the people! The shops were flooded with excellent photographs of the scenes and activities on the battle fronts; photograph albums, and histories of the War on the instalment plan were infinite in number.

Unlike England, where the campaigns for recruits and war loans were largely promoted by means of immense colored placards and posters, Berlin maintained its peace-time prim appearance. With compulsory military service recruiting was unnecessary, and little publicity was needed to promote the war loans. So thoroughly had the people been imbued with the spirit of submissive loyalty to the Government and its military policy that they gave freely and with little persuasion. This attitude of ready support made poster publicity largely unnecessary. In London especially, and no doubt throughout England, the Government was compelled to requisition halls, gymnasiums, and the like to serve as quarters for the thousands of recruits that responded to England's call in her hour of danger. In Germany the many years of preparation for war and the military policy of the Government had given the country adequate facilities, in the form of innumerable barracks, to take care of the large numbers of men mobilized by the German Government at the outbreak of the War. Only in rare cases was it necessary to requisition private quarters for the soldiers. It was in this sense, as in many others, that Germany was fully prepared for the War, whereas England was not, so far as land war was concerned.

One was told, with a feeling of pride on the part of the narrator, of Germany's marvelous system of preparedness, of how every station-master, in stations, large or small, had been in possession of sealed orders for years. These orders gave instructions as to the train schedules that would go immediately into effect on a declaration of war with France. Full details regarding the movement of the troop trains were explained. One was further told how every station-master had been instructed as to the exact time when these orders were to be opened in case of the emergency

of war. Largely owing to this marvelous foresight, the train schedules during the overtaxed and crowded days of the mobilization and transportation of hundreds of thousands of troops were carried through almost to the minute. One very soon recognized that for Germany war was a business. All was in most efficient readiness for war, so that when it came the regular routine of life continued to go on with comparatively little interruption or alteration. True, in Wilhelmstrasse, the home of the War Ministry and Foreign Offices, officialdom became more active and the offices there developed into veritable beehives of activity; but even there it was a year or more before expansion of the War Ministry became necessary in view of the unanticipated long duration and extent of the War. Throughout the machine seemed to be in excellent working order and of practically one hundred per cent efficiency.

On my first Sunday in Berlin I visited one of the better known churches where a prominent clergyman spoke. His text was "Love Your Enemies." His plea was for the principle of the Good Samaritan; his challenge, mercy in this merciless war. I wondered at the time if he were adroitly rebuking the Government for its ruthless war tactics, for the invasion of Belgium, and for the sinking of the Lusitania.

I had heard much about the Lusitania medals supposedly cast in memory of that awful catastrophe, but diligent search on my part failed to reveal any of them, although I did find a number of "*Gott strafe England*" medals. Conversation with the Germans revealed that they all regarded the invasion of Belgium as unfortunate, but a national necessity. Conscientious German Christians seemed sincere as they endeavored to justify the invasion. The weak argument was invariably advanced that if Germany had not invaded Belgium, France would have done so. They went on to explain that it was not a war of aggression on the part of Germany, but one of protection against the so-termed encircling policy, "*Einkreisung-Politik*," of British diplomacy. Apparently they forgot that they themselves were indirectly responsible for this "encirclement," caused by their refusal to abide by the Hague Conference proposals. There was no doubt on the part of all of the victorious conclusion of the War for the Germans.

Feeling against America was growing. It was declared that

American bullets were killing Germans, that it was typical of American hypocrisy to pray on Sunday for the children of the fathers at war or to send toys for the children, and on the very same ships to send ammunition to kill the fathers of these children. Among the officers feeling against America was more than bitter. The delivery of ammunition to the Allies by America threatened to thwart the success of their plans. In a death grapple with a strong opponent, over whom they seemed to be triumphing, it was exasperating in the extreme to have a third party enter the combat, not as a direct opponent and yet threatening to deprive them of their victory. One of the officers of the War Ministry, in conversation with one of our departing secretaries, gave expression to this bitterness when he declared that some day America would be at war with Japan, and that he would then do all in his power to provide Japan with ammunition, even if it required complete sacrifice of his personal fortune to do so. Nevertheless, there was more or less respect for America and no desire to have her join the Entente. It is true that some of the more rabid Pan-Germans ridiculed and minimized the strength of America as a fighting machine. On the whole, America and her representatives were judiciously and courteously handled. Accusation of violation of neutrality was universal, but rarely was there an answer when attention was called to the fact that it was Germany who objected to the proposal made at the Hague Conference that a neutral country should not be permitted to ship ammunition to any country at war. The common people were surprised and astonished when they were told of this, evidently not having heard of it previously.

The first burst of enthusiasm at the outbreak of the War, of which invariably everyone spoke and which was substantiated by the photographs shown, had already subsided. The intense wave of religious life in Germany which accompanied the first few months after war began had passed. It seemed as though the Church, long accustomed to be the mouthpiece of the State rather than of God, was unable to capitalize the religious awakening, for it had nothing vital or spiritual to offer those who were seeking for light, and the people had settled down to a more or less normal life again with considerable indifference to the War, which in most minds was sure to end victoriously for Germany by Christmas,

1915. Most families had one or more of their members at the front. This alone helped to maintain vital interest in the fighting, and the people had a thorough faith in the efficiency of their Government and its war machine.



American Supplies Ready for Distribution to Prisoners, Rastatt



Happy with Ten Days' Food Sent in by American Red Cross for Americans at Rastatt

CHAPTER III

PLANS FOR GERMANS IN RUSSIA

Into such an atmosphere I came to assist in developing the extensive relief work on behalf of the Allied prisoners of war, so well begun by Dr. A. C. Harte, who had been in Germany since February, 1915, as representative of the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations. To him all credit is due for having succeeded in securing most liberal permission for the work. On April 15, 1915, in the camp Göttingen the first War Prison Y. M. C. A. building in the world was dedicated, as a result of his efforts. Dr. Harte wrote, describing this:

"The building is thirty by ninety feet. It contains a large hall thirty by sixty feet, which will be used for worship by pastors, priests, and rabbis, for concerts and lectures, and as a reading room; a small hall fifteen by twenty-four feet, which has a quiet room for prayer, also for choir and orchestra practice; and three small rooms for educational work.

"In a brief address one of the prisoners of war called the new building 'our home,' and many a head bent low when one of the Camerons with a high tenor voice sang, 'Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home.' To men far away from home and under the most trying conditions a home had been given."

After having initiated the work in several camps in Germany, Dr. Harte proceeded to Russia and Siberia to establish work there on behalf of the German prisoners of war. The fundamental principles underlying our work maintained that it should be impartial service to all prisoners of war irrespective of nationality or religious creed, and, further, that it should be of a reciprocal nature, that is, whatever was undertaken in one country should be undertaken in other countries for the prisoners there. The visit of Dr. Harte and the large service which he rendered to the German and Austrian prisoners in Russia and Siberia served as one of our best arguments in securing liberal permissions from the German Government for work on behalf of the Allied prisoners in Germany.

Shortly after my arrival in Berlin Dr. Harte made arrangements for another trip through Russia and Siberia. Ignorance,

lack of organization and facilities, and the tremendous area over which prisoners were scattered resulted in most grievous conditions in the prison camps among the Germans and Austrians in Russia. Spotted fever was prevalent in many of the camps. Mail service, where it existed, was extremely bad, and statistics concerning captures of Germans were most meager and long delayed. Thousands of German relatives had not heard from their loved ones for six months and more, and many had had no word since the reported capture. Hence the departure of a neutral to Siberia in the interests of the prisoners was heralded as most welcome, and our headquarters soon became an extensive information bureau for missing Germans in Russia and hundreds of letters, photographs, and gifts, were sent there, to be taken by Dr. Harte and distributed among the prisoners.

During the first few weeks in Berlin, while waiting for my permit to visit camps in Germany, I was kept busy receiving these German relatives with their burden of anxiety for loved ones in far-away Russia and Siberia. The mere mention of Siberia caused them to shudder, as they thought of the clanging chains and cruel treatment of exiled political prisoners and the intense cold which one ordinarily associated with Siberia. Most relatives imagined the worst, and as weeks and months passed without word they believed their fears substantiated. It seemed an endless procession of heartsick people who came to us in those days to unload their sorrow, to receive consolation through our promises to serve and do all possible for the missing one, and to go away inspired with new hope that he was well and that he would receive help.

Quotations from my letters written during those days will no doubt give the best picture of the work we were called upon to do prior to Dr. Harte's departure. A letter written Sunday, August 29, 1915, contained the following:

"After church I came to my room in anticipation of a few hours' quiet to write letters to the loved ones and friends. These letters had been ruthlessly cast aside for the more important and pressing work of catering to our many callers. I had just taken my pen in hand preparatory to writing when there was a knock on the door. On my '*Herein*' the porter appeared, announcing that there were two ladies who wished to see me. Quickly putting on my coat, I welcomed them as they were ushered in. They proved to be a sister and a friend of a soldier who, on the basis of the last reports

received, had been wounded and taken prisoner by the Russians the previous September. They had had no word from him since and were completely ignorant of his fate. Would we help to find him? Would we take a letter to him? Twenty marks, about five dollars, were given us to buy him what he might need, underwear or winter clothing. What of the possibility that he was still alive? Would we be sure to notify them in case we secured any news of him? Then a 'thank you,' an apology for having interrupted, and a final 'May God bless you.' Such was the trend of the conversation.

"Hardly had they left when a Baroness was ushered in. She had much the same story. Her husband had been missing over a year and had been presumably captured by the Russians. Would we try to ascertain his fate? Dared she hope that he was still alive?

"Next came a mother of the poorer class, with a two-year-old child. Timid, full of apology for interrupting, she related her story. The tears came to her eyes as she asked about her husband and the baby's papa. What a contrast the two presented—the mother, heavy hearted and vainly endeavoring to choke back the sobs that persisted in coming as she feared the worst, the baby unmindful and unconscious of the mother's pain and grief, smiling and reaching playfully for my watch, as I tried to amuse her to relieve the mother of her worry.

"Then an elderly widowed mother came, imploring us for news of her only son who had been missing a year, and then a wife who had lost her husband and her only brother. She wanted us to help her sixty-year old father, imprisoned as a civilian in Russia. These women are the real heroines. These unknown and unsung aching hearts at home, away from the excitement of the battlefield, bear all the anxiety, the uncertainty of the fate of their loved ones, and how unflinchingly, uncomplainingly, and courageously they bear it all.

"Thus it has been all this week. Do you wonder that when night comes, after a fifteen-hour day of similar painful conferences with quiet, courageous men and women whose hearts ache with anxiety concerning the fate of their missing loved ones, one is completely exhausted? What is so trying is that we can merely console them with promises, for we have no facts. All is assumption and prayer that it may be well with the absent one."

The following interview which occurred a year or so later is even more typical of many in which the writer was a participant. The woman came to the office, and timorously and apologetically asked if she could see the secretary. She was in mourning, but

so many women were that one was not particularly struck by the fact, and much less realized the tragedy in her case. This was her story: Her husband had been a prisoner in Russia now for some eighteen months. She had written to him regularly, but apparently few of her letters reached him. In all four of the cards she had had from him since his capture—she had them carefully stowed away in an envelope with her—he complained and wanted to know why she did not write. Some time after his capture, the little three-year-old girl had died of diphtheria. She had not written him the sad news, fearing the effect of it on him, but in a letter which seemed to have been the only word he had received from her she had sent him greetings from the five-year-old boy but had made no mention of the daughter. And he replied, asking why his darling girl had not sent him love and kisses also. When this card reached her the little boy had also died, and now she had come to the secretary for advice as to whether she should tell the father of this further calamity in the family or not. Her heart full and heavy with grief, she was still able to add, "God gave us the children and so had a right to take them again when He saw fit, but oh! may He only bring back my husband safe to me!"

Another letter, written September 28, 1915, read as follows:

"Berlin continues, outwardly at least, her normal life. The apparent indifference evidenced on the streets provokes one. True, black is becoming the prevailing color in the dress of women. One by one the large department stores are establishing special departments for mourning dress and costumes. Soldiers are everywhere; the newspapers are given over largely to war news. But hotels and cafés continue to be crowded, and amusements, aside from dancing, are plentiful and well attended. Certain war limitations are being proposed and enforced. Thus bread is henceforth to be issued only on presentation of the so-termed bread cards, issued each individual by the authorities. The weekly allowance, however, is adequate for everyone. The use of the bread card does not imply a shortage of bread, so the Government explains, but has been introduced largely as a wise forethought in case the War is prolonged over a number of years. It is to prevent extravagant waste and to conserve the supply. One wonders if the authorities have come to a realization that the War is to be a longer affair than was at first contemplated. Similarly, whipped cream, the Berlin café visitor's toothsome delight and hobby, can no longer be served and because of this these Berliners are disgruntled and complaining.

"One is impressed with the comparatively quiet way in which the victories, of which there have been many of late, are celebrated. I mentioned in a previous letter I wrote you my impressions as I entered Germany. In Berlin flags everywhere are unfurled from the housetops, windows, churches, and balconies. The church bells ring quietly, it seems, not noisily or boisterously, as one would be inclined to think. There seems to be no note of ecstasy in their ringing. It impresses one as a most solemn, dead in earnest affair. There is no loud hurrahing, no shouting. People converse quietly as they tell one another of the victory and discuss its possible effect on the outcome of the War. In every religious meeting thanks are given to God, the German God, for the victory. In one service the leader offered thanks, saying, 'We Germans were not worthy of God's grace, for we, too, have sinned mightily. Forgive us and above all keep us humble in victory, for to Thee is all honor due.' It is a righteous war for the Germans, and God seems, to them at least, to be giving them victory and deliverance from their enemies, as of old He delivered the Israelites. The worship of God as Father of all is changed to a worship of God the Lord of Hosts, the German being the hosts. Christ enters little into their Christian life and thought. More and more their religion impresses one as an Old Testament religion and purely national in its conception.

"These are busier days than ever. I am on the go from seven A. M. to eleven-thirty and twelve P. M. every day, going at break-neck speed and with feverish haste to keep up with the demands made upon us. Innumerable personal interviews, hundreds of letters of inquiry that require answering, purchase of supplies and their shipment to the camps for the prisoners here in Germany, official visits and conferences—these keep us busy and help to make the days altogether too short for us. This past week has been awful from the standpoint of work and nervous strain. Interviewers came in such numbers that I had to take them three or four at a time. The hotel clerk for several days made note of the number of callers and said they averaged fifty to seventy a day. Practically all were seeking information regarding missing ones, who had presumably been captured by the Russians, or who had completely disappeared.

"In two cases during the week we had an experience which has fully compensated us for whatever effort and sacrifice we may have made thus far. When Dr. Harte returned from his first visit to Russia and Siberia he brought a number of photographs illustrating conditions and life in the camps for German prisoners of war there. During the course of an interview with the wife of a missing man I showed her these photographs in an attempt to console her by demonstrating that the camps were in fairly good shape. As

she casually glanced over them one by one I saw her suddenly grip one of the photographs firmly in her hands for closer examination, then run to the window and cry out, 'It is he, it is he.' She became hysterical with excitement and joy as she tried to point out her husband in the photograph to me. Tears of joy came to her eyes as she babbled incessantly and implored permission to have a copy of the photograph made. Her husband had been missing over a year and here in the photograph he had come to life again. The next day in a similar manner a sister discovered her missing brother in one of the photographs. As I witnessed the joy and hope kindling in these two, I could not but wish and pray that we might have enough similar photographs so that every anxious mother, wife, or sister might discover her loved one in some one of them.

"Temporarily I am to remain in Berlin as head of our work for the Allied prisoners in Germany. Incidentally I shall serve as intermediary between the prisoners in foreign lands and their relatives here, as well as a clearing-house for the many requests for information coming from our offices in Paris, London, and Petrograd regarding Allied prisoners of war in Germany. If time permits I shall endeavor to take charge of some work in a number of the prisoner-of-war camps near Berlin."

In order to place our work on as sound and firm a foundation as possible, it seemed essential for us to confer with the representatives of the German Young Men's Christian Association movement in the interests of the prisoner-of-war work. For this purpose a conference with the leaders of the German Y M C A movement was called to meet at Barmen. There we discussed fully our plans and program and secured promise of hearty cooperation and commitment from them.

Dr. Harte, who attended this conference, was anxious to see as many German camps as possible prior to his departure for Russia, in order to be able to speak intelligently on the condition of the same and the treatment of the prisoners therein when confronted by the questioning Russians whom he would see when he went to Russia. We therefore utilized this conference trip for visitation of a number of camps along the line. Crefeld, a large officers' camp, was first visited. Then we proceeded to a camp at Mayence. Everywhere it was necessary for us to report at the police headquarters immediately after arrival and again just prior to our departure. The authorities thus kept unusually close tab on all aliens, neutral as well as enemy. As we traveled along the Rhine

from Cologne to Wiesbaden, one marveled at the wonderful scenery along the line. An excellent dinner was served in the dining car and as we sped along the shore in the twilight of a Sunday evening past the occasional castle or ruin, the vine-clad hillsides, the quiet dark waters reflecting like myriads of stars the many lights along the shore, one was hushed into silent admiration of it all. It seemed incomprehensible that just a few hundred miles away from this most peaceful of scenes men were losing their lives in bloody carnage.

The camp at Mayence was one in which many British officers were interned. The camp itself was in an old fort, good in most respects, with the exception of a lack of adequate grounds for athletics. These fortunately were later secured for use by the officers. Wiesbaden itself was hard to recognize as the great summer resort and sanatorium to which Germany's rich and many foreign guests came in peace days, when patients from all over the world crowded its hotels and sanatoria. Unlike Berlin, it was quiet and depressingly dead. Instead of the world's men and women of wealth and influence, another class of patients had taken possession, revealing the effects of modern warfare on humanity. Most of the hotels had been commandeered and requisitioned by the army authorities and were now being used as hospitals for convalescent and wounded soldiers. Most of the men we saw had had one or more limbs amputated or were blind. Scores and scores of these men could be seen in the afternoon, as they were escorted by Red Cross nurses for an outing. They were invariably a cheery lot of fellows, everyone seemingly keen and anxious to be made whole again in order to return to the front. Enthusiasm for the War was still vital among them. There was no depression, no hatred or bitterness toward the War, such as developed among the men in later years. War was still more or less of a novelty; the spirit of loyalty to the Fatherland was still strong. A visit to the Kurhaus, a pretentious, palatial building in most beautiful park-like grounds, revealed a thousand or more holiday guests, many wounded soldiers in wheel chairs or men on leave of absence with their relatives. A good orchestra furnished music on the terrace, where an excellent five-course supper was served. The music, the peaceful, beautiful surroundings, the chatter of the visitors, all made it difficult again to realize that less than one

hundred miles away horrible warfare was claiming its toll of human lives.

From Wiesbaden we returned to Berlin. I had made sleeper reservations the previous morning, but on inquiry just before our departure was politely told that no more berths were available. That meant sitting up all night in a small coupé or compartment with five or more other individuals. We had visions of closed doors and windows and frightfully stuffy air to endure for a whole night. The German fears a draft more than anything else and would rather suffocate than subject his corpulent anatomy to a draft and its imaginary dangers. This aversion becomes evident at no time so much as when one is traveling with him. We decided to proceed on our journey, nevertheless, in spite of anticipated misery and discomfort, and left at ten-ten, arriving in Frankfort-on-the-Main at eleven-eleven, where we had to change trains. Everything was packed full, although they were running two extra sections of the train. After much skirmishing and elbowing we finally got located, Dr. Harte in a non-smoking compartment, I in a smoker with three wounded soldiers, a dog, and an army cook who was returning for an eight-day furlough from the western front.

Anticipated visions and sensations were one by one realized and endured. Windows were hermetically sealed. I opened the door of the compartment leading to the aisle. The army cook closed it immediately, saying, "*Es zieht zu viel*," meaning, "It is too much of a draft." How I learned to hate that term during the coming months! Then one by one my traveling companions began to smoke, and not very good tobacco at that. The windows were soon covered with moisture in beadlike drops, the air became stuffy and suffocating in the extreme. I tried to sleep so as to become unconscious of it all, but my face burned, my throat and nose were feverishly dry; I was miserable. I listened to the monosyllabic, spasmodic, and intermittent attempts at conversation among my companions. Personally I refrained from entering into the conversation, for my foreign accent would soon disclose my nationality and unwelcome argument would be the result.

The cook was a most whole-hearted chap and seemed well provisioned for the trip, whereas his three companions had apparently had no foresight in providing for themselves. From some-



American Baseball Game with Russian Spectators



Volley Ball in American Prisoner-of-War Camp, Rastatt

where in his baggage the cook got out a bag of pears, evidently only three, but without a moment's hesitation he distributed them to his three wounded companions; then came some *knackwurst* sandwiches. Again only three, and again these were distributed to the wounded men. Next the cook pulled out a bottle of wine, of which he took the first sip, a requirement of German etiquette, before passing it to the others with the request that they finish the bottle. It did one good to see his unselfish generosity, which was both spontaneous and genuine.

The wine started conversation, and one after another wonderful tales of trench life and fighting were told. One of the men had been hit by a piece of American shrapnel shell. He placed considerable emphasis on the fact that it was an American shell. This had crushed most of his right foot. How he cursed the Americans for his mishap. Another had been hit by what he claimed was a dum-dum bullet, which had torn away most of the thumb on his left hand. Unfortunately the wound, now over two months old, had failed to heal but had continued to fester and eat away. He was now bound for a special hospital to have the hand amputated. He said he hoped to save the hand, so that he could go back to the front, this time to the Russian front. He had been in the west and was anxious for the wider experience. During the night he dozed off but moaned most of the time, the slowly eating gangrene causing intense pain. The third soldier had a bad leg wound. The dog belonged to the cook and had been picked up as a stray in one of the deserted villages of the war-zone in France and immediately adopted. It was now being brought home to become the playmate of the cook's children. Such were one's traveling companions in Germany during those days. Interesting as they were, it was a long, tedious trip to Berlin, where we arrived at eight in the morning.

Upon our return to Berlin, final hurried preparations were made for Dr. Harte's trip to Russia and Siberia. Naturally the War Ministries of both Germany and Austria were anxious that the utmost possible should be done on behalf of the prisoners of war in the Far East, and many were the final conferences with the officials. Both Governments appropriated considerable sums of money, to be used unconditionally by Dr. Harte in furnishing such relief as might be necessary to the prisoners whom he was to

visit. Relatives continued to flock to our office, bringing letters, money, and parcels, and pitifully imploring us to take them along. Finally, on October first, Dr. Harte was ready to leave on his momentous trip; but this was only after the most strenuous siege of grinding work that we had ever been through.

He left with bag and baggage, largely the latter—to enumerate: Three immense sacks with so-called *Liebesgaben*, "Love gifts," for German and Austrian prisoners in Russia; one large sack with letters and cards conveying the love and heart-yearnings of many hundreds of mothers, fathers, and wives to their beloved ones in far-away prisons; two immense cases of musical instruments contributed by one of the Berlin music firms; a basket trunk with additional parcels for prisoners of war; one large box of songbooks containing the German popular folk songs; finally, Dr. Harte's own trunk and personal luggage. He was a veritable Santa Claus.

To cap the climax, he took with him a Russian officer who had lost a leg and had been a prisoner of war. This man's uncle was a prominent official in Russia, and the return of the man, largely the result of Dr. Harte's efforts, would no doubt greatly facilitate our work for prisoners of war in Russia. The privilege of taking this man with him was granted to Dr. Harte, in personal appreciation of his invaluable services to prisoners of war, by the head of the German War Prisoners' Department, notwithstanding considerable opposition on the part of other members of the German staff. Naturally, Dr. Harte endeavored to secure the release of some invalided German prisoner in Russia in exchange, and succeeded, so that on his return from Russia to Germany he was able to bring one with him.

Obviously, all the baggage above enumerated greatly complicated his trip, for in war time customs inspection and censor examination at frontiers are most rigorous. Especially on entry to Russia considerable difficulty was encountered when these vast quantities of German correspondence were found by the Russian censors at the frontier. (It should be stated that upon Dr. Harte's return to Germany he brought with him, with the approval of the authorities, letters from the relatives of the Russian prisoners in Germany, thus maintaining the reciprocal principle or basis of our work.) However, we felt no difficulty too great to endure, for

these letters were in many cases the very first home messages received by the prisoners of war after months, if not years, of silence.

The classification of all details, card cataloging of data, and all correspondence in connection with the above had been my task in the four weeks preceding. The banking and receipting of the considerable sums of money which came from individuals, for use in purchasing supplies for specific war prisoners, was also included in the task. Preparations were at once made to transmit to the relatives whatever information Dr. Harte might send about the individual prisoners for whom inquiries had been made. For many of the relatives those were most anxious days of waiting. It was difficult for them to be patient and yet we could give them no other assurance than that it would require four to six weeks, if not longer, before any information could be received. Within a week after Dr. Harte's departure several had written, wanting to know if we had had any word. The suspense was particularly trying for those who had missing loved ones. The German War Ministry's reports invariably classified the battle statistics on the basis of those killed, captured, wounded, and missing. In the case of the last named class months and in several instances years elapsed before any positive information was secured.

At the time one wondered whether one could call this type of work done since my arrival in Germany Y M C A work. None the less, it was definite Christian service and gave us much prestige, as well as entry into influential circles, since many of the inquiries came from and were about persons of high rank and influence.

In connection with our work of forwarding correspondence and endeavoring to secure information regarding the fate of German prisoners in Russia and Siberia, the following incidents with their tale of human tragedy are typical of thousands of similar cases. Thus we received from a son who was a prisoner in Russia a letter in which he requested us to get in touch with his mother and ask her to send him money. We addressed a letter to the mother in question at the address given, only to have the letter returned to us with the notation, cruel in its brevity, "Carried off by the Russians."

The wife of a missing captain had appealed to us to make every possible effort in locating her husband, who was supposedly a prisoner in Russia or Siberia. After several months of investi-

gation we finally located a captain of the same name as her husband. Without any question, she immediately began to write him letters full of love and anxious hope for his well-being. This she continued to do for nearly a year, when finally a letter from the man to whom she had been writing arrived with the heart-breaking information that he, although of the same name and rank, was not her husband. Later investigations revealed that her husband had been killed.

Similarly, another wife had been writing to her husband at the address he had given on the first card sent after his capture by the Russians. A year later our investigations, made in an effort to discover why she never received letters from him, revealed the fact that he had died shortly after the writing of his first card. She had been living thus in hope and writing to him for a full year before the tragic word arrived that he had been dead all that time.

The desperateness of the prisoners in Russia is perhaps best illustrated by the following incident of an Austrian officer. It seems that he completely starved himself, in order to weaken his body sufficiently to make it more susceptible to tuberculosis. Not content with becoming infected in the normal way, he secured the sputum from tubercular comrades and by means of a self-made atomizer inhaled the infectious sputum. The result was that he contracted a violent case of tuberculosis. On examination by the Russian medical mission which determined whether or not he was eligible for repatriation, he was passed and returned to Austria via Germany. The disease, however, had been so virulent that it was necessary for him to proceed at once to a tuberculosis sanitarium, in the hope of recovering from the self-inflicted disease.

Another prisoner, this time a German, who was blind in one eye, simulated total blindness. He had schooled himself for weeks previous, so as not to wink with the seeing eye when some object was suddenly placed in front of it. Application was made for repatriation on the basis of his blindness. One can realize his anxiety when the medical mission came to examine him and to determine whether or not he was eligible for repatriation. As he told his tale to me he explained that the commissioners invariably carried a red and blue pencil, blue at one end, red at the other, and that the blue mark signified repatriation, the red mark continued imprisonment. As he lay on his cot supposedly blind,

but watching with the greatest anxiety the commissioner who was to decide his fate by a blue or red mark of the pencil in his hand, one can conceive his feelings. Fortunately the blue mark was made, which meant liberty for him in the immediate future.

Similar instances occurred among Allied prisoners in Germany. I recall two men who simulated weak-mindedness or insanity and succeeded thereby in getting out of the country.

CHAPTER IV

WELL-EQUIPPED CAMPS AND HOSPITALS

During these busy days I had received from the War Ministry, my permit to visit the prison camps in Germany. It read as follows:

"Mr. Conrad Hoffman, American, thirty-one years old, Secretary of the University of Kansas Young Men's Christian Association, has permission to visit all prisoner-of-war camps and hospitals for the purpose of securing information relative to the condition of the prisoners of war interned therein and of inspecting camp equipment and organization.

"He is permitted to converse freely with the prisoners of war without attendance of witnesses (interpreters), to receive from them wishes for supplies, and to make note of the addresses of the relatives of the prisoners of war. He is also permitted to take photographs.

"The local authorities are requested to give the above-named individual all possible protection and assistance in the accomplishment of his goal, especially in the erection of new reading halls (Y M C A huts) to be built at the expense of his organization.

Requested by

FRIEDRICHS.

"To be returned when no longer used."

It will be noted that the holder was entitled to visit all prisoner-of-war camps and hospitals in the country; furthermore, that permission was granted to converse, freely and unhampered by a German interpreter or official, with the prisoner of war. The holder was permitted to take notes and, above all, to take photographs of the prisoners and the camp equipment. On the face of it this permit gave unusual freedom of action in the prison camps. But, alas, the very liberality of the permit immediately aroused suspicion among the prisoners of war, who naturally assumed because of my liberties that I must be an agent of the Germans, sent in under the cloak of the Young Men's Christian Association to spy on the men and to report back to the Germans. It required considerable time and earnest effort in those early days of our

work to overcome this suspicion in several camps, where it served as one of the greatest obstacles in our efforts to be a real friend to the men. On the first few visits to such camps the men were discouragingly noncommittal. Thus one was under suspicion from two sides. The German authorities naturally suspected us and no doubt kept close surveillance over us during the first few visits to their camps. On the other hand, prisoners whom we wished to help regarded us as suspicious characters until we had won their confidence. The happy medium between was a rigidly straight and narrow path. Too much intimacy with the authorities immediately accentuated the prisoners' suspicion, whereas too much intimacy with the prisoners gave offense and created suspicion on the part of the German officials, which was liable to result in curtailment of our privileges. It required unusual diplomacy to win and to keep the confidence of both parties, which was an essential prerequisite for the success of the work we hoped to do.

I recall a case that will illustrate the extreme difficulties confronted in this connection. On one of my first visits to a camp near Berlin I arranged to give a lantern-slide lecture on conditions in other prison camps in Germany. Obviously my slides revealed the best features in the camps, the thought being that illustrations showing what the men in other camps were doing in the way of musical, theatrical, athletic, and religious activities would stimulate similar activities among the men who saw the slides. The fact that these slides portrayed the best of the prison life at once caused suspicion that I was pro-German. This I learned later from the committee we had organized and after I had fully established myself with them and had won their confidence. They told me frankly that after the lecture in question a conference of the leaders had been called, to decide whether or not they would receive me again on a future visit.

Ours was a most unique undertaking. While other relief agencies were working from the outside, sending in their supplies but having no personal representatives in the camps aside from relief committees made up of the prisoners of war, we endeavored to make the personal element the important factor. Ours was to be a work within the camp, not extraneous, such as the others were performing. Both seemed essential. Attention should be called

to the fact that our permissions had been granted on the agreement of reciprocity, that is, that we would attempt to do a similar work in the enemy countries on behalf of the German prisoners of war. No religious propaganda was tolerated, although interdenominational meetings of a Y M C A nature were permitted. Our service was to be for all prisoners, irrespective of nationality or religious creed.

The ordinary German officers and camp guards who were unacquainted with the events which had resulted in the issuance of the permits by the War Ministry were more than suspicious, many of them tolerating us merely because of superior orders. In view of their antagonism aroused by America's shipments of munitions, they looked upon us very much as an enemy and not as a neutral. Invariably on a first visit to a camp, when it was necessary to call on the officials in charge, one was confronted by the whole munition shipment argument. The wisest policy to pursue under such circumstances was to refrain from all political argument; this was invariably done by our men.

The fact that I was able to tell of the work I had been permitted to do in England on behalf of the German prisoners proved a great help in allaying this suspicion. Furthermore, the fact that Dr. Harte had left for Russia and Siberia to render aid to the German prisoners proved a most important means of overcoming any opposition to our work on the part of local commandants.

It may be wise at this time to explain briefly the organization of the German Prisoners-of-War Department, as it will enable the reader to appreciate better and more fully the elaborate red tape necessary for us to go through in order to do our work. The entire organization was headed up in the German War Ministry, with headquarters at Berlin. However, permissions issued by the War Ministry received no recognition unless sanctioned by the Corps Commanding Staff Office, so that after securing the permit from the War Ministry it was necessary for us to secure sanction and approval from the respective Army Corps Commanders, before we could proceed to the individual camps in any given corps. The camp commandants in turn refused to recognize our permit, even though it came from the German War Ministry, unless they had previous orders from the Army Corps Commander's Office. Germany had eighteen Army Corps and in addition the Army Corps

within the respective kingdoms of Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg. In the three latter the permit from the German War Ministry was invalid, and before entry into the camps in these kingdoms could be secured a special permit was required from the respective War Ministries of the three kingdoms. In each Army Corps and in each kingdom a special department known as the "Inspection" had charge of the prisoner-of-war work. To recapitulate briefly, the order of procedure in visiting any camp was as follows: permit from the German War Ministry, approval of the same by the Army Corps Commander, reference after such approval to the inspector of the Army Corps, notification of the camp commander, and then presentation of the War Ministry's permit to the camp commander on the first visit.

The first camp work undertaken was a trip through southern Germany with one of the American secretaries, who had arrived shortly before Dr. Harte's departure. On the trip we visited two of the hospitals for German soldiers, where maimed, wounded, and blind men were housed. These were in the city Halle a/ Saale. Large amusement halls, big cafés, and similar places had been converted into hospitals. It was pitiful to see so many otherwise able-bodied men lying in their cots helpless as babes, and heartbreaking to realize that all this might just as well not have been. The spirit of the men wherever we went was admirable. All were anxious to be well again, so as to be able to return to the front.

We left for our trip of camp visitation, expecting to be handicapped by severe discipline and an unfriendly attitude on the part of the officials because of our American citizenship, as well as to be greatly restricted in our inspection of the camps themselves. The result was that, though we went as critics to find fault, we came back surprised and deeply impressed by the universally generous and frank reception given us. At Karlsruhe we were received by Prince Max of Baden, who was a prince indeed, friendly, informal, and thoroughly patient with us. He was deeply interested in our work, for he was actively engaged in helping the prisoners of war in Germany. We were both surprised at his very liberal attitude towards the enemy. On the advice of Dr. Harte we asked him to serve as patron of our work, to which he responded most cordially. From Karlsruhe we went to Darmstadt, where the Grand Duke of Hesse received us in a delightfully informal manner. He, too,

showed a deep interest in our work and before we left requested his Adjutant to take us in state in the royal auto to visit the prison camp near Darmstadt. He urged us as we departed to call on him at any time in the future if he could be of service.

Under the guidance of the "*Dienstünder Adjutant Seiner Königliche Hoheit des Grosherzogs von Hessen,*" the formidable title of the Duke's Adjutant, we visited the prison camp at Darmstadt. It was completely beyond our greatest expectations. The prisoners were largely Russian and French. We first visited the hospital compound, where there were several hundreds of wounded men. This was a most completely equipped establishment. The barracks were situated in spacious grounds, every inch of which was utilized for the growing of spinach, regarded so highly by the Germans as a tonic and health food. In summer there had been flower beds as well. The hospital proper consisted of one long central hall-way from which wings extended at right angles, each accommodating some fifty men each. Each wing was light, airy, immaculately clean, and provided with stoves and two rows of substantial cots with white bed covering. The foot of each cot was toward the center of the room. All patients wore the special blue and white striped hospital suit or pajamas. Over the head of each cot the name and other particulars concerning the patient were recorded; at the foot a fever chart was posted on which record of the patient's temperature was kept.

The staff doctor, a sympathetic and friendly personality, showed us everything, even to the special chapel which had been erected by the Government as a place of worship for the hospital patients. The operating rooms and laboratories were all in white and equipped with modern, up-to-date instruments for surgical operations, bacteriological technique, and diagnostic purposes, including a new model X-ray apparatus. With the latter the doctor had taken some excellent pictures of the fractures of bones caused by bullet and shrapnel wounds. The kitchen in the hospital compound was equipped to cook for 1,000 patients, including special diet cooking for individual cases. It was in charge of two women, the other help being French prisoners of war. Everything in the way of food and its preparation was worked out on a scientific caloric basis. Organization and system stared one everywhere in the face.

The prison camp proper was next visited. There were large, commodious barracks housing 250 each. Ventilation was adequately provided for, but the Russians invariably closed, and no doubt would have liked to seal hermetically, every door and window. The resultant odor of the barracks in which the Russians were housed can be imagined. The German officials insisted on fresh air and demanded daily airing of the barracks, a most wholesome command. The whole camp was built to accommodate 10,000 prisoners and was divided into several compounds, each of which housed from 1,000 to 2,000 men. Except by very special permission, no communication was allowed between the compounds.

One compound was reserved for newcomers. Here they were kept in quarantine a maximum of six weeks, before being transferred to their permanent camp compounds. This covered the period of incubation of infectious diseases and thus eliminated the danger of transmission of diseases from the field to the men in the prison camps. It was a wise and necessary precaution to avoid disastrous consequences.

Reference should be made to what were known as the "*Entläusunganstalten*," or delousing plants. The larger camps had two such delousing buildings. The press made much fun about these, but in reality they were one of the most important features of the camp. They served several purposes. First, they rid the men of that detestable pest, the louse, which was the bane of their existence in trench life. Second, they eliminated the danger of infection with typhus, which was known to be largely transmitted by the bite of a certain species of lice. Third, they served to keep the men clean, as every prisoner was expected to bathe in the establishment at least once a week and in some camps twice a week. Fourth, they safeguarded the health of the prisoner community.

The equipment and process of manipulation were comparatively simple. The prisoners first entered an anteroom where they removed all their clothing. This was suspended on a clothes-hanger on an overhead trolley with a tag, a duplicate of which the prisoner received and hung around his neck. The clothes were then run into a large sterilizer of one of two types. In the one compressed steam was used as a sterilizing agent; in the other, hot

dry air. After the removal of his clothing, the prisoner passed on to the shower baths and soaping room, where he covered himself thoroughly with a creosote soapy mixture. His head and face were shaved and all other parts of the body with hairy growths were rubbed with a powdered mixture which removed the hair as if by magic. The removal of the hair was a requisite precaution, as the specific louse which disseminates spotted fever lays its eggs, or "nests" as they are called, therein. These "nests" are so difficult to kill that it seemed best to remove them entirely. The prisoners then passed under shower baths, where there was plenty of warm water on tap continuously. It was hard to get the men to leave the baths, particularly the Russians, who stood in awe and wonder at this luxurious innovation in their lives. One can imagine the astonishment of the Russian of whom it was told that though sixty-eight years old he had received his first bath in the camp. The men then passed on to the final dressing room where on turning in their tags they received their clothing, which had been thoroughly sterilized while they were bathing. Each prisoner was given an additional clean set or outfit of clothing.

Most of these plants accommodated 1,000 men a day. In the same building were immense clothes-boilers, washing tubs, and rinsing vats, with an immense drying room on the second floor. Here the camp washing, no small item at any time, was done. The larger pieces of laundry were all washed here. In addition, smaller tubs more like horse watering troughs were provided in the various compounds, where the men could wash small articles, such as handkerchiefs, socks, and the like. Each compound in the camp had its own kitchen, canteen, reading room, playground, and theater, here and there a workshop such as a shoe, tailor, or carpenter shop, and in some cases an art studio. Usually one barrack was reserved for church purposes for the entire camp.

In the camp were many features characteristic of German thoroughness and conservation. Thus, even with the best of management, there was always some waste and refuse in the camp kitchen. This camp utilized the waste, after boiling the same to prevent the possibility of disease transmission, in fattening several litters of hogs. I was agreeably surprised at the spick-and-span cleanliness of the pigsties. Another interesting feature of this camp was the preparation of many bushels of apples for drying,

in anticipation of the long winter months when fruit is scarce. The dried apples served admirably to vary the otherwise more or less monotonous winter diet. Attractive garden patches were in evidence everywhere. Some had flowers, but most of them were planted with vegetables, which not only gave a pleasing effect but also helped to furnish fresh vegetables for the prisoners. In one compound vines had been planted along the entire side of the barracks and, with a second row of sunflowers, which incidentally furnished sunflower seed for the Russians who regard it as more or less of a delicacy, presented a really delightful aspect.

At Darmstadt the officials, probably because of the presence of the Grand Duke's Adjutant, were all most cordial, friendly, and generous, urging us to express our desires as to what we wished to see or to do. To quote from one of our secretaries, as he wrote of his first impressions: "Indeed, the officials were definitely studying how to bring real German 'Kultur' to the war prisoners. If you had heard the discussion you would have thought them to be the fathers and uncles of the prisoners." A striking feature was the universal pride of the officials in *their* camp. They evidently had nothing to hide. Details of drainage and sewage disposal all received scientific attention. There was a certain degree of rivalry among the commandants of the different camps, which was greatly appreciated by the prisoners, for it contributed to the improvement of their lot.

From Darmstadt we went to the camps at Giessen, Wetzlar, Limburg, and Worms, in the order named. On the whole, all the camps were similar to that described above, but to us each seemed a little better than the last we had seen. We were glad and grateful to God that Germany, all criticism and reports to the contrary, seemed to be showing so much consideration for her enemies whom she had taken prisoner. One official expressed what I believe was more or less the universal attitude when he said, "We do not look upon our prisoners as enemies." Another said, "These men are no longer enemies. I feel sorry for them and treat them accordingly. They have all done their duty."

At Giessen we met what proved to be one of the most pitiful cases we saw in connection with our work. In one of the cots in the hospital lay a colored man from Senegal. His face bore the marks and scars of his tribal tattoo or ornament. There he lay,

a stranger in a strange land, unable to communicate his desires, unable to understand a word that was said, helpless and alone in the midst of many. A small parcel of food which we gave him was received with an answering smile and an appreciative handshake, revealing the fact that the language of friendship spoken by the gift was understood and appreciated by him. Why was he there? Why had he left his native land? Who were these white folks? These questions no doubt were surging through his mind to remain forever unanswered. It was all incomprehensible to him. A few weeks later we learned that he had died, a victim of consumption.

In the camp at Limburg we found scales on which the prisoners were weighed at frequent intervals—another instance of the German scientific instinct and mania for collection and tabulation of data. Here the garden arrangements were truly artistic and inviting. This camp with less than 10,000 resident prisoners was receiving 30,000 parcels from the home folks a month. All parcels were opened and examined at the censor's office before being delivered to the prisoners. This was no small task. As some 5,000 of the prisoners in the camp were farmed out and living in the adjoining territory, many under ordinary circumstances would not have received their parcels until they returned to the camp a week or a month later, but consideration for them came to the rescue here as in many places. After examination of the parcels they were repacked, readdressed, and then sent from the camp to the surrounding communities, wherever the men were located. German system and thoroughness thus accomplished another tremendous task in connection with the prisoners of war. We were grateful for the thoughtful sympathy which prompted this system of parcel delivery, involving as it did so much extra and purely voluntary work.

At this camp we also learned that the artists among the prisoners were permitted the freedom of the surrounding country, so as to discover interesting, picturesque, or historic bits of landscape which they were then permitted to paint. On such excursions they were usually accompanied by a German guard.

In the camp at Worms we found similar consideration for the prisoners. One entire barrack had been reserved for a church and had been equipped with an altar and all accessories necessary

for evangelical, Greek Catholic, and Jewish worship. The altar cloths had been contributed by one of the commandant's assistants. The rear end of this barrack had been partitioned off into two rooms, which were fully furnished with bedroom accessories. These were for the use of the Russian priest and his attendant, who frequently came to the camp to conduct the religious services and who invariably remained over night. In this camp the prisoners were all Russians, and splendid opportunities for our work were presented, especially along educational lines. The officials were heartily in sympathy with our work and, as time revealed, supported us most generously in our efforts to organize schools and handicraft departments.

The hospital at Worms had several hundred severely wounded Russians. It was customary to send the patients back to the prison compound proper, as soon as they had recovered sufficiently. Many of the patients, we were told, cried when they had thus to leave the hospital compound—an evidence of the kind, sympathetic treatment they had received. The chief doctor in charge seemed to know every patient by name, which was not an easy task in view of the fact that they were all Russians. His was a gruff but kindly interest in each individual. As we passed through long barracks with rows of cots on which these helpless men lay he greeted them right and left with a friendly word. In return the patients, by the light in their eyes and the smile on their faces, tried to express their gratitude to him for the truly wonderful cures he had perfected. I have rarely seen a man take as much pride and joy in his work as this doctor did as he explained some of the cases to us. One must not forget that many of his patients arrived with worm-eaten gangrenous wounds requiring immediate and heroic action. The men seemed absolutely content under the circumstances. The barracks themselves were large, airy, light, and clean. Every inch of ground about them was utilized for growing vegetables, and over every door entering into a barrack was a hanging basket with blooming plants.

In this hospital eggs were being given the wounded Russians to help them more quickly over the convalescent period. Milk, rice, and wine were other delicacies on the bill-of-fare for the nourishment of the weaker prisoners in the hospitals. The Russian prisoners, unaccustomed to such consideration, were hardly able

to comprehend it. Their gratitude was childish and pathetic. An incident of which we learned while in this hospital will further illustrate the kindly, human sympathy of the doctor in charge at this camp. In one of the barracks we discovered two Armenians, one of whom was unable to speak anything but Armenian, whereas the other spoke Russian and knew a little German. By order of the doctor in charge their cots were placed next to each other, in order that the Armenian who was unable to speak Russian or German might have proper companionship. The Russian-speaking chap was entirely well and under ordinary circumstances would have been transferred to the regulation prison compound, but the doctor kept him in the hospital, simply to serve as companion for the other Armenian who was still seriously ill.

In this same camp we discovered a young Russian who was most expert with wood-carving tools. In the room which had been given him as a workshop he was making violins and the Russian musical instrument, the balalaika, several fine finished specimens of which he had on display. On examination one was surprised to see that these had been made from odds and ends of wood that he had been able to pick up, chiefly pieces of cigar-boxes, and packing cases. Our secretary was able, soon after his assignment to this camp, to secure permission to take this Russian artisan to the near-by city and there to permit him to pick out such additional tools as he required, as well as to go to one of the large lumber yards where he was told he could choose the kinds of wood he needed for his carving and that we would pay the bills. A happier individual would have been hard to find than this Russian, coming thus into a veritable paradise of material from which he was told to choose freely. The inspiration and encouragement thus given him by a comparatively small outlay of money on our part would be difficult to estimate. Suffice it to say that all instruments used by the camp stringed orchestra were made by him and other prisoners, who served in an apprentice relationship to him and whose interest in wood carving had been aroused. Many other instruments were made by this group and sold to prisoners in other camps. This is one of many illustrations of the manner in which our organization was able to give helpful occupation to prisoners of war. In a later chapter a more detailed description of the handicraft department of our work will be given.

After this tour of inspection our first American secretary was assigned to the Eighteenth Army Corps, to be responsible for our work in the camps there. I returned to Berlin at this time and had opportunity on the return trip to observe the scene that took place at the railway stations. Apparently severe fighting had taken place on the west front and many wounded men were being sent back to hospitals in the homeland. Others were returning home for a coveted eight-days' furlough. As the trains pulled into the stations, one noted how anxiously and expectantly these men returning for furlough craned their necks out of the windows, looking for some waiting loved one. No one could help but feel glad as he observed the joyous welcome of those fortunate ones who were met by friends on their arrival. Soon after the trains were emptied and the platforms vacated one invariably saw a few waiting ones, still remaining and peering anxiously through the departing crowd for the expected loved one who had failed to come. A last searching look, then they, too—mothers, wives, or sisters, who had come so joyously and expectantly—slowly turned and left, despondent and fearful of the worst. I saw many a woman try to choke back the sobs and check the tears that would come, in spite of the desire to give a glad welcome, when she espied that the one approaching her was no longer the sound, robust specimen of manhood that had left, but was limping along on crutches, or with head or arm bandaged, or being wheeled in a chair, or even led by some companion because he was blind. There was a tragic stillness and hush over all, as though in reverence for the suffering and sacrifice thus portrayed. Such a scene was terrible to witness and can never be forgotten. We in America have been too remote to appreciate the awfulness of warfare. Such scenes as those described above were common, almost daily, occurrences, not only in Germany but in France, England, and the other European countries at war.

CHAPTER V

THE BRITISHERS AT RUHLEBEN

Upon my return to Berlin, preparations were made for visitation of camps in the immediate vicinity. Urged by our headquarters to do everything possible on behalf of the British civilian prisoners, I made their camp, which was situated near Berlin, the first objective of my camp visits. Though much has been written about this camp, there are a number of unusually interesting features that bear reiteration.

Ruhleben, signifying "peaceful life" or "quiet life," was the name of the camp in which the 5,000 or more British male civilians who were caught in Germany at the outbreak of the War, were interned, and held prisoners for the duration of the War. To many the camp will unquestionably ever remain a veritable nightmare. Few, if indeed any, will think of the camp as a place of quiet, restful life.

The camp itself was one of the popular Berlin race tracks just outside the city limits, which had been adapted by the German authorities for housing the unfortunate British civilians who were to be interned there. It was equipped with all the accessories of a modern race track, such as immense grand stands, an excellent race course, and many brick buildings or stables containing horse stalls for the race horses. Accommodations for the men were found in the horse boxstalls, each stall serving as living quarters for five or six men. In the early days of internment little more than straw to serve as bedding had been provided, but it did not take long for the men to make the cold, unhealthful habitations more comfortable.

Professional men, business men, and students, were all thrown together with laborers, jockeys, bellboys, waiters, and others. They were promiscuously mixed, but it was not long, before a sifting process or readjustment brought men of like interests together, so that the inmates of each box soon formed a harmonious and congenial group.

Aside from housing facilities, the camp had but little to merit its selection as the dwelling place of several thousand men for a number of years. True, it presented possibilities of adaptation but there was little prospect that such adaptation would be made by the German authorities. After the first bewilderment and overwhelming discontent, with the accompanying feeling of injury which filled all men who were summarily torn from their business and activities in Germany and interned in the camp, had subsided somewhat, the men settled down to a more or less regular routine. Fortunately, there were several leading spirits in the camp who were imbued with the idea of service, and to them credit is largely due for the numerous activities which were at once organized. Several theatrical clubs, musical organizations, schools, religious organizations, handicraft departments, and the like, were one by one instituted and served as centers for congenial companionship and profitable occupation. The latter was especially needed, for the dull, deadly monotony of prison camp life accentuated by the unbearable consciousness of imprisonment was sufficient to drive men crazy, unless they had some means of occupying their bodies, minds, and souls. Even in spite of the extensive development of organizations and activities at Ruhleben, approximately one hundred men went insane or were temporarily mentally deranged. Owing largely to the efforts of the American Ambassador, His Excellency James W. Gerard, and his representatives, to whom the interests of the British Empire in Germany had been turned over for protection at the outbreak of war, the camp was greatly improved and additional equipment provided to make the place a more fitting abode for the men.

At the time of my first visit most of the men had been in the camp nearly a year. During this period they had had opportunity to adjust themselves to the unusual environment and to improve upon it. No doubt during the first days of internment conditions had been bad, far worse than at the time of my visit. The living quarters were never good. Relations between the prisoners and the German camp officials had been exceedingly strained, but fortunately they were then on a more satisfactory basis due to the far-sighted efforts of several of the influential men of the camp. In the early days of the camp it seems that the Germans had endeavored to superimpose German military dis-

cipline upon the prisoners; this was vigorously resented, of course, and was the cause of constant friction and trouble.

German discipline and punishments were adopted in all prisoner-of-war camps. Thus the whipping post, a form of penalty used in punishment of German soldiers, was frequently resorted to, in spite of the loud protest of British and French prisoners. That the Germans apparently thought little of it is evidenced by the fact that a post card, showing a Royal Navy Division man tied to the whipping post, was sent by the thousands to England, where, needless to say, it provoked consternation and vigorous protest from English relatives.

In addition, the guard system had been most obtrusive and exasperating. Upon the suggestion of several of the leading prisoners, recommendations were made by the prisoners to the German authorities which resulted in permission being granted to organize self-government within the camp. This government was in charge of a group of men chosen as representatives from the various barracks of the camp and known as captains. There was one captain for each barrack. Over these barrack representatives was a president, called *"Obmann,"* who was directly responsible to the German Commandant of the camp and through whom all appeals and petitions to the German authorities had to be made. Aside from some political intrigues which existed, this arrangement proved most satisfactory and did much to eliminate the friction and dissatisfaction that would otherwise have continued.

Special barracks had been built to house the hundred or more colored men of the camp. The so-called pro-German element among the prisoners was placed in what was known as the "tea-house," the building which in pre-war days had served as refreshment annex for the race track. The men living here were more or less completely ostracized by the loyal Britishers of the camp.

On going the rounds of the camp one was surprised to find a historical club, a science club, a music club, two or three theatrical societies, and the like. One of the main thoroughfares between two of the barracks was known as "Bond Street." Here were shops of the most varied type, where one could purchase everything from cooking utensils and toilet articles to clothing and books. A shoe shop and a tailor shop were also to be found. Most unique was the camp police force, made up of British prisoners

who were responsible for the maintenance of order and the prevention of thievery within the camp.

The athletic field made available through the efforts of Ambassador Gerard had become one of the most popular features of the camp. At all times of the day, whenever weather permitted, it was crowded with men playing tennis, hockey, soccer football, or baseball. There were many Canadians in the camp with whom baseball was popular. Through the generosity of Spalding and Company, we were able to furnish the men with a complete baseball outfit. During the winter 1916–17 the field was flooded and served as an excellent skating rink. It was surprising how quickly skates made their appearance in the camp. Those who had none and were unable to secure any made a slide, the longest I have ever seen, enjoying the fun like a lot of twelve-year old boys.

The "Grand Stand University," so named because of its origin underneath the grand stand where the first classes had been held, had grown to large proportions, with faculty and students and catalogues of courses—in short, all the features of a modern university. As a matter of fact, during the four years of the existence of the camp, the school enlarged and improved its courses, entirely through the initiative of the interned men, so that full university credit was given men who took and passed examinations for work given in the school. Many a man while a prisoner prepared himself and passed the entrance examinations for Oxford University, as a result of the work of the "Grand Stand University."

The attics above the box stalls in a number of the stables were turned over to the educational committee who, with the help of friends in England and some assistance given by us, did wonders in equipping laboratories and schoolrooms. There were physical, chemical, electrical, and biological laboratories, and in all more or less equipment, much of which had been made painstakingly by the prisoners themselves. I recall a balance made out of cigar box wood, material from tin cans, and the like, which weighed accurately to within one-tenth of a gram. The entire balance had been made by one of the prisoners. In a similar manner equipment for the electrical and physical laboratories was made by other students. The man in charge of the biology department had secured the kind cooperation of one of the German professors,

who provided him with microscopes and the necessary chemicals to carry on microscopic research of a biological nature. Hundreds of the men in the camp availed themselves of the talent represented in the camp. A nucleus of students from Oxford, ably assisted by several professors from other universities, formed the teaching staff and were most self-sacrificing in their efforts to give the most possible to all the men. I quote from one of the reports of the educational committee, which will best indicate how extensive and intensive was their work. This report was given on August 12, 1916:

"To facilitate the expansion of our activities permanent subcommittees of specialists have been formed to look after the various branches of our artistic work. The musical subcommittee was the first to be appointed, and consisted originally of Messrs. Henry, Hunt, and Treharne. Recently the attitude of the entertainments committee with regard to our lectures with dramatic illustrations has involved the obtaining of a certain amount of simple stage material, the control of which has been placed in the hands of a dramatic subcommittee. In the other departments it has not been found necessary to appoint such subcommittees. This method has been productive of considerable results, especially in the case of the popular lectures given in Grand Stand Hall on Monday evenings. Here a steady increase in scope and popularity is to be noted, especially in that form of demonstration lecture which endeavors to bring the audience into direct contact with the subject, as well as to express certain ideas about the subject. Unfortunately, up to the present it has been found impossible to obtain the apparatus necessary for giving scientific demonstrations. It is hoped, however, that it will be possible to procure apparatus for next term when several scientific demonstrations are contemplated.

"During the period from November 18th to July 21st, twenty-seven lectures have been given out of a possible thirty-six. Of the lectures given nine have been illustrated, if at all, by readings and lantern slides only, and included such varied subjects as 'Galsworthy,' 'Food and Food Products,' 'The Gyroscope,' 'Ruhleben Birds,' 'Optimism and Pessimism,' 'History of Theater Buildings,' 'The Sonnet,' 'The New Poetry,' and 'Scientific Research.' The lectures on musical subjects have been fewer, chiefly owing to the limited number of musicians in the camp and the many calls that are made upon them for other musical work, but the standard obtained was very high. Mr. Hunt's capable introduction to the music of Grieg, Mr. Prichard's masterly exposition of a new conception of Mozart's significance as a composer, and the suggestive

introduction to the little known piano-duo by Messrs. Cossart and Short may safely be reckoned amongst the most successful evenings given. In the first two instances the admirable support given to the lecturers by the musicians, both instrumentalists and vocalists, contributed largely to the success of the evening and merits our warmest gratitude.

"The lectures illustrated by dramatic examples were ten in number, three of them being repeated. Particularly noteworthy were Mr. Duncan Jones's brilliant experiment, Shakespeare as a Modern Dramatist, and Mr. Howard's lecture on Greek Tragedy, illustrated by scenes from the Electra produced by Mr. Winzer. Mr. Steer's lecture on the modern Spanish drama, illustrated by Benaventes' 'Los Interesos Creados' in Spanish acted by members of the Spanish Circle, also deserves special mention, not merely on account of the excellence of the evening but also as exemplifying a type of circle work inaugurated by the French Circle which could be developed further with profit not only to the circle members but also to the camp as a whole. The other lectures of the same nature included studies of Maeterlinck, Strindberg, Shaw, Wilde, Ibsen, and Lascelles Abercrombie.

"The position of the open popular lectures given last summer on the third Grand Stand has undergone a certain amount of alteration. When the Committee took up office the great difficulty with which it was faced was the eternal one of space. The season of the year made it impossible to continue to hold such lectures in the open air, and the acoustics of the Cinema Hall rendered it unsuitable until some kind of soundproof partition had been erected. A subscription was raised by the circle and after considerable delay, due to the impossibility of obtaining material, the partition was erected. A series of illustrated travel lectures was begun by Mr. Foster Kell, which attracted such large audiences that they had to be repeated and a program of separate lectures was drawn up. Before more than half a dozen of such lectures had been given the Hall was condemned as unsafe in case of fire, and again the space was made unavailable for both lectures and circles by the considerable alterations necessary to place it beyond the criticism of the military authorities. After the alterations had been completed, the majority of the larger circles returned to it, although some of the smaller ones preferred to retain the temporary accommodation in the loft of Barrack 6. The return of the warm weather now made it possible to hold lectures out of doors and the Historical Circle came forward with a series of lectures on Germany, dealing with different aspects of German art, history, and literature which proved extremely successful. The music lectures of this series were given in the Y M C A Hall, the others on the third Grand Stand, part control of which had been allotted to us

by the Committee of Captains. It was felt that, in view of the number of lectures organized by both the circles and the Y M C A and the consequent reduction in the number of lecturers available, further lectures were scarcely necessary, especially during the summer months. Arrangements are already being made, however, for the winter session.

"The circles also have shown no abatement in their activity. The older circles have continued the excellent work they were formed to accomplish, several widening their scope and appeal by the introduction of lantern lectures, dramatic readings, and performances and lectures illustrated by musical examples. The French, Spanish, Scotch, and Technical Circles have been the most prominent in this direction, and it is to be regretted that the French Circle has been disbanded. Naturally many circles do not allow of such an expansion, but in all cases the interest has been very keen. Several new circles have been formed, the Sociological and the Woolen and Worsted Circles being the most recent. The reports sent in at the close of the term form a telling record of the energy and industry of a large section of the camp.

"The cubby-holes (rooms for private study) still retain their old popularity, in spite of the greater facilities now available in the camp. Their space is more limited however, two of the cubby-holes having been granted by the late Educational Committee to the Camp Magazine for offices. In spite of this reduction in space, there are forty-eight occupiers of the cubby-holes and a large number on a waiting list.

"The Committee is pleased to be able to report that the new session will open with a membership of 215, twenty-seven members having been added since the last general meeting. Up to date approximately twenty lectures have been offered for the coming session, including amongst others such interesting subjects as 'Saint Saens' by Mr. Cossart, 'Verdi' by Mr. Weber, 'Gerhardt Hauptmann' by Mr. Woods, 'Chamber Music' by Mr. Short, 'Aristophanes' by Mr. Lockyer Roberts, 'Modern English Composers' by Mr. Dale, 'Rostand' by Mr. Perrot, 'Hebbel' by Mr. Stein, and 'Ernst Hardt' by Mr. Raspe. In conclusion the Committee desires to thank in the name of the Union all those amongst the members and non-members who have contributed to the successes of the past season."

The catalogue of courses issued by the schools at frequent intervals is most interesting and indicative of the extent and intensity of the work carried on by this most unique of schools. During the winter session of 1915 courses were offered in the following subjects: French, Spanish, Art, Commercial Subjects, Science and Mathematics, Engineering, Nautical Subjects, and Handicrafts.







Physico-Medico Apparatus in Czersk
(Supplied by Y M C A)

As the school progressed additional courses were added, as is shown by the catalogue for the summer term 1917, as follows: English, German, Celtic, Italian, French, Spanish, Russian, Dutch, Danish, Mathematics, Physical Sciences, Biological Subjects, Engineering, Nautical Subjects, Commercial Subjects, Arts, Music, Handicrafts.

My first visit to the camp in October, 1915, had revealed the urgent necessity of additional and more adequate facilities to house the many activities that had been initiated and promoted. The special committee which had been organized appealed in no uncertain terms for provision for their needs. A library, a reading room, additional classrooms, adequate quarters for the church services, a hall for social entertainments—these were some of the special needs mentioned.

After this visit immediate steps were taken to hurry the erection of a Y M C A hut in the camp that would adequately fill these needs. But when we applied to the German authorities for permission to proceed they seriously objected, stating that the camp did not have adequate space to permit the erection of an additional building; furthermore, the owners of the race-track were said to disapprove on the ground that the erection of a wooden barrack, such as we planned, would greatly increase the fire risk, resulting in increased fire insurance rates. It required persistent and lengthy discussions to overcome all objections and to secure final approval of plans and permission to proceed.

It would have been an easy matter for the German authorities to negotiate the various business transactions for the erection of our proposed hut, but this they deliberately refused to do. The result was that we had to solicit for bids and finally engage a contractor to erect the building. One of the prisoners, an expert architect by trade, had drawn the plans and subsequently supervised the erection of the hut, securing the services of many prisoners gratuitously to aid the German laborers and carpenters provided by the contractor. The men worked hard and diligently, for all were anxious to have the hut ready for dedication by Christmas, just four weeks distant from the time the building was begun. The spirit of the men was remarkable; the most cordial cooperation seemed to prevail between the British and German carpenters working on the building. They worked until two A. M. the night preceding the dedication in order to have all in

readiness for the big day. The prisoner in charge of the architectural and construction work remarked that four weeks had never passed so quickly since his internment as the four spent in supervising the building. He was anxious to know whether there was any prospect of our giving him permanent employment in the erection of similar halls in other camps.

The dedication, which occurred early Christmas Eve, was an auspicious occasion. The building was presented to the men of the camp as a Christmas gift from the American Y M C A or Student Friendship League. The participation of the interned men in the dedication services made it evident that the hall was a much appreciated gift and would be used to the limit. The entire hall was decorated most artistically with Christmas pines. Two immense Christmas trees, which had been donated by the commandant of the camp, added greatly to the gala appearance of the whole. Seats were purposely left out of the hall in order to crowd as many men as possible into it. I judge that about 1,000 men were present within the hall, whereas outside, around each window and door, some twenty to thirty men crowded in order to hear all that went on inside. For me the entire dedication service and the happy gratitude of the men proved one of my biggest encouragements in connection with the prisoner-of-war work.

On Christmas Day five different church services were held in the hall, and from that day on the hut became the center of many of the camp activities. The regular church services, the reference library, schoolrooms, the art-studio, the Italian seminary and club-room—all were housed in the building. In addition social entertainments, Bible study classes, and physical education, were all conducted under its roof. Rules and regulations regarding the use of the building had been formulated by the building committee. Throughout the day the main hall was used as a study room by the many students in the camp school.

The following schedule will give some conception of the use made of the Y M C A hut for religious services throughout the week, as well as the wide variety of these services: Each Sunday morning from seven-thirty to nine, Holy Communion was conducted by the Church of England, and from nine-thirty to eleven the hut was given up to the Roman Catholic mass. On Sunday afternoon, though at varying hours on different Sundays in the

month, Church of England Evening Prayer and a Deutsch Evangelisch service were held, and a brief Roman Catholic evening service completed the day. Daily morning services, the one lasting fifteen minutes and the other a half hour, were conducted by the Deutsch Evangelisch church and the Church of England respectively, and the latter also had a fifteen-minute daily service of Evening Prayer. Bible classes met Tuesday afternoons from three to four and Monday evenings from seven to eight; prayer meetings were held late on Sunday and Thursday afternoons; on Tuesday and Thursday evenings there were Deutsch Evangelisch services and on Wednesday evening a Nonconformist one; and two hours every Friday evening were given up to Church of England choir practice.

A special Y M C A committee was organized to assume responsibility for much of the religious work in the camp. In cooperation with various individuals in the camp interested in the work and with the help of the Rev. Mr. Williams, who did so much to minister to British prisoners of war in Germany, very effective work was done. During the years of imprisonment two three-day Y M C A conferences were held. In addition a special series of religious meetings was held from February 2 to 6, 1916, under the auspices of the Association, which proved most effective.

When the suggestion was first made to a group of three of the men in the camp who I thought would be interested in such a series of meetings it was received with considerable skepticism. However, in a subsequent meeting with twelve interested men it was decided to undertake the campaign. They at once organized a workers' committee numbering fifty men. These had as their responsibility the personal work in the different barracks. A special invitation card was printed, which was distributed by the workers to every man in the camp. Some three weeks before the campaign a talk on prayer was given which resulted in a nightly meeting of the committee of fifty for prayer, and in my opinion this prayer consciousness and prayer practice were largely the secret of the success of the campaign. Several unusually appropriate posters were made by the prisoners and put up in conspicuous places in the camp. On every door of the camp a smaller poster with "Y M C A Week" worked in monogram in red, white, and blue, was to be seen. Very little was said in the publicity rela-

tive to the nature of the meetings, beyond the fact that the emphasis was on the religious life of men. The result was that Y M C A Week, the name of our campaign, became the chief topic of conversation in the camp. Several more meetings with the committee helped to prepare the camp for the week.

On the first night the hall was packed to its utmost capacity fully thirty minutes before the meeting began. One of our secretaries spoke at this meeting. It was an illustrated talk, winding up with a straightforward appeal for better living. The next day we had a committeemen's luncheon and in the evening one of the other secretaries spoke before another packed house. The following three nights meetings were again held, winding up on Sunday night with a genuine decision meeting. We had been somewhat dubious regarding the American method of calling for open decision in a meeting made up entirely of Britishers, but evidently this method was as effective among the latter as it ordinarily is in an American audience. Special cards were utilized for the men to record their decisions. On Saturday night a Morning Watch card was distributed and the men were urged to use it on Sunday morning. Sunday night our secretary made a most forceful appeal for a definite and immediate decision. At the signal our ushers distributed the decision cards with clock-like precision and one was reminded very much of our large university religious campaigns. Several hundred men rose to their feet as the secretary gave the invitation for public testimony. After standing, the men were asked to record their decisions on the cards that had been distributed. Some of these were most significant and perhaps deserve mention. The following will serve the purpose:

"That the feelings of bitterness may be obliterated that this war has caused on my spirit."

"I resolve this day for the sake of my beautiful child-wife and two tiny baby boys to take from Christ's teachings such lessons as I know will lead to their happiness and my success."

"Resolve to follow a code of honor consistent with the designation of gentleman."

"I will be a Christian."

"To cut out the sin of impurity, to continue spending a certain time each day in devotion, to endeavor seriously to win others to Christ."

Several of the decision cards were written in German, indicating that the men in question, although interned as British subjects, were none the less unable to speak or at least to write the English language.

On Wednesday following the campaign we definitely organized the Y M C A in the camp. It was an unusually good meeting. In a preliminary discussion a smaller group had voted that we charge a membership fee of fifty pfennig and a monthly fee of ten pfennig. These conditions of membership were clearly explained and in response to our appeal for men to join 157 signed up for membership on this basis. This was our charter membership. Officers were elected at once, with a Student Volunteer from Australia as president and a professor from Glasgow University as secretary. It was also decided that there should be a regular mid-week religious meeting on Wednesday nights in charge of the Y M C A committee, and that on Saturday nights a Y M C A social should be staged, each social to be in charge of the men from one of the twenty-two barracks in the camp. Such were the beginnings of an intensive religious life among a large group of the men of the camp.

One of the events during the period of internment was the Tercentenary Shakespeare Festival, which was held in April, 1916, under the auspices of the dramatic club. The program consisted of "Twelfth Night" on April 23rd, 24th, and 25th; on April 26th a lecture with demonstration on Shakespearean music; on April 27th a lecture on Shakespearean England; and on April 28th, 29th, and 30th "Othello." All parts in these plays were taken by men, but it was hard to realize that one was not in some large city theater listening to leading Shakespearean players. The costumes, stage scenery, and all other appointments could hardly have been improved upon.

During my visits to the camp at Ruhleben I invariably was invited out to lunch by some box group of men, and here had most delightful and helpful fellowship with the men. All of course realized that outside in the German cities food was not as plentiful as it was in the prison camp, and the result was that I was regularly presented with a box of supplies on leaving the camp each time I visited it. The following note, which was enclosed in one of the parcels, is rather significant of the kindly and thoughtful

attitude of the men toward my own welfare. It may appear contrary to what one would expect, for the impression was general that the prisoners were more in need of food than was an individual like myself, as, indeed, they were in many other camps.

"Having come to my notice that Mr. Hoffman is not so well as he might be (in the outer world) as regards the foods which perish, I should esteem it a great favor if you would kindly hand this small parcel of provisions over to him when next he visits this camp, for the sake of Him who tells us to 'Feed My flock.'

Yours sincerely,
A Brother in Christ."

That my visits at these little luncheons were much appreciated is evident from the following note from the leader of one of the groups with whom I had taken many a meal, but with whom I had been unable to lunch on the last two or three visits because of other invitations:

"Dear Mr. Hoffman:

"We all hope that you will not long delay your return for we should feel our unworthiness too bitterly if you did not consent to be one of our mess. If you stay in camp, tea will be served at six o'clock."

Another letter read as follows:

"It occurs to me that the intervals in our personal correspondence are large. I should like to speak of this because we are on the threshold of a fourth winter here and, sunk as I am in the lives and souls of these young fellows here, I wish to anticipate the occurrence to you of any thought that absence has made my, or any of the hearts here, grow less sensitive or warm, or that this is what it means when I am not writing. Dear Con, look back over your visits here and ask yourself where it was that you and I came into touch with one another. On the surface of details of the work, or somewhere else in the soul of the work?

"Three years' confinement here, and I know you will look at this period a second time before reading on, with the noises of the world reverberating in the most quiet places of our souls, makes me retire with deep delight to the friendships where the mind and pen and voice are still. If you cannot be here personally I value your friendship most for its silence.

"Dear Con, read deeply into this. The winter's arrangements are almost completed, our problem is ever clear, our strength greater, our men resolute and splendid, our progress slow but marked and assured, our future hopeful."

The following copy of the announcement of the Ruhleben Historical Club, issued December, 1915, is significant of the scope of this work:

"Since the formation of the circle the following papers have been read: 'The Part Which History May Play in Education'; 'The Personality of Salome in History and Art'; 'A Franconian Manor in the Eighteenth Century'; 'A Survey of Modern Jewry'; 'The Elizabethan Era'; 'Ludwig II von Bayern.'

"The following papers, among others, are in preparation: 'Ancient Irish Literature and the History of British Origins'; 'The Philosophy of History'; 'The History of the Inns of Court'; 'Greek and Byzantine Ideals'; 'Napoleon's Personality in the Light of His Career'; 'Economic Conditions in Europe after the Napoleonic Wars'; 'Voltaire as an Historian'; 'Some Aspects of Early Celtic Life in Ireland and Wales'; 'Glimpses of Private Life at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century, as revealed in some contemporary memoirs.' "

Wonderful things were done during the days of imprisonment. One of the men, who by the way had been director in the organization of the Museum of Boston, established a course in Italian which he was fully qualified to handle. It was not long before several classes were organized for men whose interest in the language had been thoroughly aroused. Very soon a weekly Italian newspaper was published in the camp, the articles in which were written by the men, who had thus learned the language in the few months of their class work.

Garden contests were an annual feature of the camp life. Easter, 1917, a horticultural show was held where flowering bulbs, foliage plants, and the like were on display, which had been laboriously and patiently nursed and mothered into bloom during the preceding months.

A model boat exhibit attracted considerable attention. Silversmith work and leather work also had their place. Through the kindness of H. R. H. the Crown Princess of Sweden we had succeeded in getting leather for this work. Mahogany, pear wood for boat building, and all possible types of veneer wood, were furnished. Later a supply of alcohol for laboratory and goldsmith work was secured for the departments from Denmark.

After extensive negotiations the Royal Library of Berlin agreed to loan through us books requested by the Ruhleben men who

were anxious to do advance research reading. Twice a month books were thus exchanged, and many were the students who availed themselves of the privilege.

One of the most notable events in the history of the Camp Ruhleben was the visit of the Right Reverend Herbert Bury, Anglican Bishop for North and Central Europe, in the month of November, 1916. Upon express invitation of the German military authorities, Bishop Bury came to Germany from England to spend a week in the camp at Ruhleben, completely free to move about and mingle with the men interned there. This was no doubt done by the German authorities in an effort to prove that the conditions in the camp were not as bad as they were commonly reported in the foreign press. The following was Bishop Bury's introductory address in the Ruhleben internment camp November 22, 1916:

"I want to tell you, my brothers, how I welcome the opportunity of just, as it were, introducing myself. I cannot welcome you now exactly into my jurisdiction, but perhaps in after years I may do that. I cannot tell you what are my feelings in being here today. You know that my duty during peace-time is to go about the countries in Northern and Central Europe, visiting the little communities there, giving services, holding little receptions. In these countries the Bishop's visit is always a sign of touch with the old country, and a slight remembrance that the people are not forgotten by the old country and by the old church, and that is what I want my visit here to be during the few days allowed me here with you. I want to remind you that you are in touch with the old country, and not forgotten for one day, that you are in touch with the old church and your churches at home. I am tremendously indebted to the Camp Captain, Mr. Powell, for his welcome to me, and, no doubt, he and I will be able to arrange for various other meetings, smaller than this one, where I can get some idea of the life of the camp, and where I can try, my brothers, to be of some use to you.

"When with our brothers in the Naval Division in Holland, I realized what internment means—I realized the opportunities it brings as well as the trials. They are bitter and severe, these trials, but they are tremendous opportunities, opportunities which rightly used, should, especially for my younger friends, go to the making of character in after years.

"I want to tell you how kind and helpful everybody has been. I would like to tell you how I came to be here at all. It is not in consequence of my application, but entirely as an invitation from those I have known in Germany, especially the Ober-Burgermeister



Open-Air Concert by Camp Band, Münster

of Munich, who is coming from Munich to meet me tomorrow. He has made inquiries from time to time about the way we treat our interned and prisoners, and he has been the means of removing many false impressions and of contradicting false reports. He made an application for me last August, and got, not permission, but an invitation for me to come and visit you in Ruhleben, and to spend a little time with you to see as much of you as I can; to see everything that there is to be seen, keeping nothing back. I cannot tell you what courteous attention has been paid to me. I can never feel grateful enough for the way the authorities of this country, in cooperation with those of our own, have smoothed the way for my coming to address you here today.

"I dare say many of you have heard of me in connection with your families at home, and I hope these men will make a point of communicating with me, as I shall be assailed with inquiries when I get back, and I should like to take down their messages to carry back with me. I have messages from people at Rock Ferry and Poulton-le-Fylde; I have forgotten the names, but would ask all those from these parts of the country to communicate with me afterwards.

"I wish to hold a service on Sunday, and to have an opportunity of a straight talk with you now and then, to give you information as is right and proper, or do anything in my power to draw together and strengthen the ties between you and those dear to you in the old country.

"Three days after I received the invitation to come and see you, it happened that the King and Queen invited me to Windsor to spend the week-end and preach to them on Sunday. The invitation had come on the Wednesday or Thursday, and I was able to tell King George on the Saturday evening that I had an invitation to come to Ruhleben. I could not realize my good fortune. I feared some difficulty might still crop up, and I would not allow myself to be too hopeful.

"The King said: 'Do you think you will get there?'

"I hoped for the best, and here you see the hope fulfilled.

"Then the King said: 'Well! Tell the men I think of them every day. I send them my very best wishes; and ask them to keep up their standard, and not to let it down; to keep up their country's good name. I know they will do both. May God bless you.' The Queen said the same.

"The King added: 'When you arrive back, come down to me and let me know how the men are looking, how they are bearing their great trial, and any message they may send to me.'

"The Queen said: 'Also tell me afterwards how you found them looking,' and she spoke of you as she would of sons of her own.

"These are their messages, with good wishes, and a hearty 'God bless you.'

"Now, my brothers, I join in that, and if I can be of any use, the more use I can be the better. If I can see men in private and help them, and see you in any little gatherings I shall be glad of the opportunity. I can assure you that there is not a more thankful man in the whole of Europe than I am today, to be able to be with you in this place of which we have heard so much."

The last address which the Bishop gave at Ruhleben was followed by a demonstration probably unique in a camp of prisoners of war. The national anthem and various other patriotic songs were sung, and hearty cheers were given for the King and Queen as well as for the Bishop. After the singing of "For he's a jolly good fellow" the Bishop responded, "And so are all of you!" and continued, "Now, three cheers, and hearty ones, for Ruhleben and what it is to mean to your later lives! God bless you all!"

Many of the men in Ruhleben had their families in Germany, but since their internment in 1914 had not been permitted to see them. It was not until late in 1916 that permission was finally granted the wives and near relatives of the prisoners to visit them once a month at the camp in a special barrack set aside for that purpose. These visits, however, were always in the presence of a German attendant which made impossible the much desired privacy. One of the prettiest and most delightful, yet pathetic, scenes of war prison life was that witnessed at Ruhleben on those days when the mothers and children or other near relatives of the interned Britishers were thus permitted to visit them for a brief fifteen minutes once a month. Within the camp all was excitement. Each of the prisoners who was expecting a visit was putting on his best, shaving and cleaning up in general. Outside as one approached or left the camp one would pass the wife and children of these men hurrying along in their best, the wife usually with one or more parcels for the loved one and the little children invariably carrying a bouquet of flowers. What an invaluable fifteen minutes those were for these individuals thus torn apart by the War! Needless to say, no relative ever missed the opportunity for such a visit, in spite of its brevity, often spending hours in the trip to the camp. For the men thus visited nothing meant more or proved more wholesome than these precious fifteen minutes with their loved ones.

CHAPTER VI

CHRISTMAS IN A PRISON HOSPITAL

The Christmas entertainment which gave me the greatest joy was the one I was permitted to arrange in one of the prison hospitals of a camp near Berlin. Permission had been secured from the doctor in charge for a Christmas celebration for his patients. The commandant of the prison camp proper, situated a mile or more away, had allowed us to take the musicians, the men's chorus, and the theatrical entertainers from the prison camp to the hospital for this Christmas celebration. We had given the Y M C A committee in the camp 200 marks with which to purchase apples, cake, and the like for the invalided men. Three members of this Y M C A committee, which consisted of four British, two Russian, and two French prisoners, received permission to go to the near-by town to make all necessary purchases in preparation for the entertainment in the hospital. Needless to say this privilege was greatly appreciated by the men.

I spent the afternoon of Christmas Day before the hospital program in the prison camp proper, where we had succeeded in finishing our reading-room, known as the Y M C A Hall, just in time for Christmas. One's heart was made glad as one entered it. The members of the Y M C A committee had done wonders with the little we had been able to give them. Signs were everywhere in evidence, wishing everyone a "Merry Christmas" in the respective languages of the prisoners. Tables had been provided around which men were gathered playing the games that had been supplied, while others stood watching the progress of the game. Others were industriously reading; still others were writing, no doubt with keen heart-yearnings for the loved ones at home; and about the stove I found a group of twelve men all reading their Bibles, three of them Gaelic, with their Gaelic Bibles. They expressed the wish that we might provide another room where similar groups could gather for silent devotions and for Bible study, a thing impossible with the present facilities. It may be of inter-

est to remark here that many an officer and prisoner later told us that the best thing we had done for them was to provide the quiet room which we arranged for in each building, where men could go and be alone. We must remember that in prison camp life privacy was well-nigh impossible. Day in and day out without interruption, the prisoners were most intimately associated with others, and men, no matter where, must have occasion to be alone.

The Y M C A committee was present in force, doing all that it could to make the men feel at home and to cheer them up. On the wall near the entrance door were posted the rules and regulations drawn up by the committee for the use of the hall. One was glad to note that they had prohibited card-playing, which was one of the evils of the prison camps, for cards were used extensively in gambling. The rules in question were printed in French, in Russian, and in English. In another part of the room signs with the wonderful Christmas message, "Peace on earth, good will towards men," were posted and one could not help but wonder whether such a thing were really possible. It was a busy scene and on the whole a happy one. The men were most appreciative and grateful for the little we had been able to do for them. As one saw these men, prisoners of war in a strange and enemy land, trying to forget their environment on this Christmas Day, one could not but think of the homes from which they had come and the anxiety of the loved ones there concerning their welfare.

About four o'clock in the afternoon I was invited to have tea with a small group of the workers. What an elaborate tea it was—English white bread and butter, pound cake, plum pudding, tea biscuits, and real English tea. We discussed the possible date of the War's end, all certain that we would be home before the next Christmas. Pictures of the loved ones at home were shown, and a word of family history related.

We then made ready to leave for the hospital, where the Christmas entertainment was to be held at five P. M. The physician in charge had kindly given us an entire barrack for use on the occasion. This the committee had decorated most effectively. There were three Christmas trees with real candles and other Christmas tree trimmings. Behind these a temporary stage had been erected. Four large tables with white linen covers, no doubt bed sheets from the hospital laundry, occupied one end of the barracks. At

each place on these were an orange, an apple, six cigarettes, a cake of chocolate, and two pieces of German Christmas cake. The other end of the barrack was provided with benches for the patients who were soon to be brought to the festival. It was a most pitiful sight as these men came in, some hobbling on crutches, others carried by two of the less ill patients, others having arms or head or leg bandaged; a few were carried in on their cots, but all had an eager look of expectation of a good time to come in their eyes. It did one's heart good especially to see the joy in the faces of the Russian patients, for whom such a celebration was a veritable miracle. Signs were hung across the front of the stage wishing a "Merry Christmas" in French, Russian, Belgian, Polish, German, and English. It was a truly international entertainment.

After all who could joined in singing "Hark, the Herald Angels Sing," accompanied by the orchestra, brief talks of appreciation were given by representatives of the different nationalities. Each speaker as he concluded his talk voiced the hope that the next Christmas they would celebrate at home, not one of them realizing or believing that that next Christmas and two others would still find them in the prison camps before they finally reached home. I doubt whether any individual could have endured such a thought at the time. After the talks an elaborate program with orchestral music, vocal and instrumental solos, and vaudeville followed. The participants represented all nationalities of the prisoners in the camp. Then came an intermission during which a big bowl of hot cocoa was served to each patient as he helped himself to his allotment at the table.

The English non-commissioned officer, president of our camp Y M C A committee, and myself went to visit the nine lonely patients in the hospital who were too sick to be moved. We did what we could to wish them a merry Christmas as we gave them our little gifts, but tears were in our eyes and a big lump in our throats as we mentally pictured the thoughts that must be passing through the minds of these poor, sick, lonely men. When we came out into the dark night the British officer and I simply gripped hands and uttered an audible prayer that God might end it all soon.

We then went back to the barracks and there listened to the remainder of the program, which was concluded by a Christmas

carol sung by an unusually good chorus of eight British prisoners. I had been privileged to make a brief talk, calling attention to the significance of Christmas, above all trying to arouse new hope. The assistant of the German physician in charge was also requested to speak. His was a kindly message, in which he wished the men a right merry Christmas and expressed the hope that they might spend the next Christmas in their respective homes. Our entertainers then took leave, followed by three German Landsturm men as guards, and wended their way back to their prison camp, no doubt happy that they had been able to render this most useful service to their wounded and sick comrades. I bade farewell to the patients whom we helped back to their respective cots; all seemed happy in the atmosphere of Christmas cheer. On passing through the gate leaving the hospital compound I was challenged by the German guard to show my certificate of identification; I stopped to speak with him and to wish him a Merry Christmas. With tears in his eyes he told me that he had a wife and children at home, that this war was awful thus to tear men away from their homes on the one day when all men long to be there. To him war was hell. Here he was on Christmas Eve with gun in hand guarding fellowmen torn from their loved ones and now his prisoners, and in his ears the angelic message at Christ's birth of "Peace on earth, good will towards men" was ringing with bitter irony and ribald mockery. And there were hundreds of thousands of men like these prisoners and the guard on both sides of the line, all torn away from homes where mothers, wives, and children were spending a lonely, anxious Christmas day.

It was thus I spent my Christmas; it was nearly midnight before I reached home, but I was grateful for the privilege that had been mine of bringing Christmas cheer and hope to the men with whom I had spent the day.

We had tried to have celebrations of this character in other camps during the Christmas holidays. True, up to that time there were but two of us in the country; two others had arrived a few days before Christmas, but had not had time to secure the permissions which would entitle them to camp visitation, for there was always considerable red tape necessary before such permits could be granted.

CHAPTER VII

PRISONERS AT WORK AND HUNGRY

During the spring and early summer of 1915 Dr. A. C. Harte had been able to inaugurate work in a number of camps, first in Göttingen, and later in Crossen a / Oder and in the officers' camp at Han. Münden. The work which centered in these three huts and the one at Ruhleben attracted considerable attention. All proved so popular and seemed to fill so great a need that requests for similar huts in other camps were addressed to us by many camp commanding officers. However, inspection of many camps revealed that empty barracks were available which could be transformed into Y M C A huts if the camp authorities would grant us permission to use them, so that whenever an appeal for a hut was made to us, we sought to have the authorities grant us the use of such barracks, rather than to build new barracks for our purpose.

The empty barracks were due to a new development in the prisoner of war methods. The large inroads on the man power of Germany occasioned by the compulsory drafting into service of all able-bodied men caused a serious menace to the home industries, such as factories, mines, and above all agricultural pursuits. It is true that the German women rallied splendidly to the situation and one found them in practically every occupation formerly regarded more or less as man's sacred domain, but there were still great gaps. To solve the problem the German authorities resorted to the employment of prisoners of war in these industries. On the basis of international agreement, prisoners of war below the rank of sergeants could be employed by their captors for work although they were not to be employed in the munition factories or in any industry manufacturing supplies directly for war use.

Thus it was that thousands of prisoners were being farmed out for these various industries, in order to supplement and replace the German man power that had gone to the front. The prisoners were usually sent out on large government projects, such as railway and bridge construction and reclamation of moorlands, or

were farmed out to private industrial plants; still others were sent into the agricultural communities as farm hands. Many other prisoners worked in the *"Etappen-Gebiet"* or war Zone. These we were not allowed to visit. Friedrichsfelde, Limburg, and Wahm served as parent camps for these men. The fact that the addresses of the prisoners in question were these prison camps whereas the men themselves were often one hundred or more miles distant in northern France or Belgium, led many a relative to accuse the Germans of deliberately falsifying data to conceal the whereabouts of the prisoners.

When working for the Government they received the German soldier's paltry pay of thirty-three pfennig a day, board included—at the peace rate of exchange about eight cents a day. In private employment the prisoners frequently received much more, professional men earning up to eight marks, or approximately two dollars, a day. The earnings were never paid to the prisoner directly, but were deposited to his credit in the camp banks. I had the privilege on several occasions of inspecting these banks, which were organized on a most efficient business basis and in some cases had total deposits belonging to the prisoners aggregating several millions of marks. A prisoner who desired funds simply signed a form of check, on presentation of which he received an amount not to exceed ten marks at any one time. The reason for limiting the amount of money a prisoner could have was to prevent encouragement to escape. A man with considerable money would find it easier to get away than one who was limited to the paltry sum of ten marks. In later years, because of the scarcity of German small change and currency and to put a further check on the possibility of escape, special prison camp money or coupons were issued by the respective camps.

Most prisoners in the early days when this system of employment was put into effect welcomed it heartily and even volunteered to go out and work. Every day brought the man change of environment and, above all, took him away from the monotonous life of the prison camp. He was especially fortunate if employed in agricultural work, for under such conditions he had more or less complete freedom in the community to which he was assigned. Usually some large inn or restaurant was requisitioned as housing quarters for the prisoners employed in the town or village. Here



YMCA Hall at Darmstadt

they slept and ate. It was not an unfamiliar sight in the later years of the War to see a little ten-year-old German lad call at the village inn for the prisoner who worked on the lad's home farm and then escort him to his working place. In such communities food was usually more abundant than in the prison camp; this was of great importance to those prisoners of war who did not receive food from home friends or government.

Theoretically, students among the prisoners of war were exempted from this manual labor, if they so desired, although in many individual cases release from the hard work was secured only upon protest or intervention of the Embassy in charge of the interests in Germany of the prisoner's nation. In connection with their camp visitation our secretaries frequently discovered student prisoners of war doing manual labor under protest. As a result of the secretaries' efforts many such a student was returned to the prison camp, where he was then enabled to continue his studies.

This practice of employing prisoners of war all over the country greatly increased the difficulty of our work, for instead of having 150 centers in which to work the number was increased by several thousand. The so-called working commandos or detachments ranged in number, so far as prisoners were concerned, from a mere handful to as high as 2,000. At first we had no permission to visit working commandos, but after extensive negotiation such permission was secured. One of our secretaries had the remarkable privilege of visiting regularly several working detachments of prisoners of war on the submarine boat wharves at Hamburg.

Obviously, this farming out of the prisoner of war also greatly complicated the organization and routine of prisoner-of-war camps. With 150 camps, from each of which fifty to seventy-five per cent of the men were sent out to work in groups ranging from ten to 2000 men each, supervision and control by guards became a tremendous and difficult task. Gradually civilian guards were employed to replace and to release for active service many a German soldier who would otherwise have been tied up at home. Estimating the number of Germans required to guard the prisoners of war as one for every ten prisoners, the supervision of the approximately 3,000,000 prisoners of war meant that 300,000 German soldiers were thus kept from the front. During the last

few months of the War the need for German man power became so great that the unprecedented practice of the employment of women in the prison camps was resorted to. Ludendorff was responsible for the inauguration of a compulsory civilian service system, whereby all civilians capable of working were drafted for wartime industries and the replacement of otherwise indispensable men, who thus became free for military service at the front.

Time and again I saw groups of Germans just drafted into service and still in their civilian dress march down the streets, escorted by armed German guards as though they were prisoners, to some garrison where they were equipped with uniform and gun. They were a sorry sight and reminded me of "sheep being marched to slaughter." Often the wives accompanied the men, tearfully bidding farewell as they left on the troop trains. On the sides of these trains one found many jests of all characters written in chalk. Among the many vulgar, ridiculous, and ribald jests the following serious sentence attracted my attention: "*Unser Kinder sollen es gut haben.*" (Our posterity will benefit.)

So far the early beginnings of our work in Germany have been described. With the coming of more American secretaries it became necessary to organize our work on a more definite plan. On the basis of the agreement reached with the German Government we were permitted to employ thirteen American secretaries in Germany. As has been previously stated, our work was on a reciprocal basis and with some twenty-five secretaries allowed in the Allied countries our force was restricted to the same number in Germany and Austria combined.

Attention has been called to the fact that there were eighteen Army Corps and three kingdoms in Germany, in all of which prisoner-of-war camps were found. It seemed best to assign our secretaries to one or more of the Army Corps and to make them responsible for the work in the camps situated in the same. With a final total of approximately 3,000,000 prisoners of war, representing twenty-nine different mationalities, and with these men distributed in 150 camps and several thousand working commandos, it will be readily understood that our work necessarily had to be of the "touch and go" type. At most we could organize Y M C A committees within the camp and then through occasional personal visits and regular correspondence render such service as

the committees recommended or requested. The camps were of the following types: Officers' camps, where commissioned officers were imprisoned; camps for privates; civilian camps; reprisal camps; propaganda camps; working detachments; hospitals apart from the prison camps.

In the early days of German prison organization it was the policy of the German authorities to house Russian, French, and British prisoners all within the same barracks, rather than to segregate them by nationalities. It was urged that as long as these nationalities were allies they had better become well acquainted with one another. However, this promiscuous mixing of the different nationalities provoked such continued friction and dissatisfaction that the Germans gradually substituted the national principle in the distribution of prisoners. Thus it was that camps contained chiefly French prisoners in one case, British in another, and Russian in a third. In the officers' camps, none of which contained more than 2,000 men, officers from all nationalities were invariably represented, although here, too, the tendency to concentrate by nationalities was followed.

A survey of the field demonstrated that the men in the privates' camps, in the hospitals, on working detachments, and in reprisal camps were most in need of the type of service which we were rendering. Our work was, therefore, largely restricted to these camps. In the officers' camp adequate talent and resourcefulness were available within the camps and supplies sent by the home folks made our assistance less imperative. True, there were exceptions to this and in a number of officers' camps we were able to do a real piece of service greatly appreciated by the men.

Food and clothing relief was largely a matter of the Red Cross organizations of the respective countries. Up to this time no centralization of the relief agencies had been perfected by England, France, or Russia. British prisoners, for example, received parcels directly from their relatives, from the regimental societies, or from the "godmothers," charitable women who made it a practice to send parcels to British prisoners whose names they had secured either through the regimental committees or directly from prisoners of war.

No one of us who worked among the prisoners of war would ever have begrudged them the maximum possible relief. But under

the arrangement above cited many abuses of charity resulted. It was no uncommon thing to find that the addresses of the "godmothers" were being sold by prisoners who had them to other prisoners in the camp, the price depending upon the quality of the parcels sent by the respective "godmothers." The prisoners who obtained such addresses would immediately send off most pathetic appeals for help, appeals which the kind-hearted and charitable "godmothers" rarely refused. It thus happened that many individual prisoners were receiving as high as ten and twenty parcels a month from as many different "godmothers." Such prisoners, with a shrewd business capacity, would then auction the contents of these parcels to their less fortunate fellow prisoners. An extensive system of profiteering thus resulted, for the contents of the parcels were often sold at fabulous prices.

The Russian prisoners of war most frequently fell victims to this system. Unfortunately they were receiving little help from their own Government, and the great distances and the ignorance of the majority of the Russian people resulted in few parcels being sent by their relatives to the Russian prisoners. The latter were accordingly more or less dependent upon German food or such other food as they could secure by begging or by purchase from their more fortunate British and French fellow-prisoners. French hard-tack biscuits, such as were sent by the French Government to French prisoners of war, were often sold to these hungry Russians at as high as five and six marks apiece. Because of the abuses resulting from this promiscuous charity, the German authorities through the camp censors refused to forward the letters of prisoners of war addressed to the "godmothers," which was a step urgently needed to avoid further abuses, but which was immediately misinterpreted by those concerned. Fortunately, the British Government soon afterwards took steps for the centralization of prisoner of war relief. In a similar manner the French Government arranged to send her prisoners in Germany a weekly ration of bread, which proved a great help to the men and did much to counteract the misuse of charity which prevailed under the old system.

Some idea of the extent of parcel shipments from private individuals to prisoners can be gathered from the fact that in the Camp Münster alone, in which some 30,000 prisoners were quartered,

there arrived during the month of May, 1916, 264,000 food parcels, making an approximate average of nine parcels per man per month. One can appreciate the tremendous amount of post-office work which these parcels necessitated, especially when one remembers that fully fifty per cent of the prisoners were scattered at the time throughout the country on small working commandos, to which the parcels had to be forwarded, after censorship in the camp. In this camp the post-office staff consisted of 224 employes. Similar conditions existed in each of the other 150 camps in Germany.

On the basis of international agreement prisoners of war were entitled to write two letters and four post cards a month, with no restriction as to the number of pieces of correspondence which they could receive. The censorship of these parcels and letters was no small item and became doubly laborious when the German Government issued an order requiring that all food parcels must be opened before delivery to the prisoners of war. This order was issued because of certain discoveries of attempts to smuggle information in the contents of the parcels sent to the prisoners of war. I was shown a pound of walnuts among which one had been found which had been opened, a note enclosed, and then carefully resealed. Obviously no more walnuts were permitted by the Germans to reach the prisoners of war after this discovery. Letters and newspapers baked into loaves of bread were not uncommon; in one camp I was shown a bottle of whiskey baked within a loaf of bread. False bottoms in canned goods and letters in tins of butter or lard, had been discovered at various times. Needless to say, the Germans instigated a most rigorous censorship thereafter of all supplies sent in to prisoners of war. All canned goods were opened before issuance, very much to the discomfort of the prisoners. Thus the many had to suffer because of the folly of a few, for the letters and papers which were thus smuggled through were invariably of a more or less harmless nature and conveyed no valuable information.

Largely through such thoughtlessness many regulations were inflicted which could have been avoided. In one of the prison camps, contrary to general orders, the camp officials had permitted the shipment of articles made by prisoners of war to their home folks; in this camp British Tommies had learned to knit and were

sending home sweaters, mufflers, socks, and the like which they had knitted. Some prisoner, however, attempted to smuggle a letter in one of these parcels, with the result that this privilege was immediately withdrawn. These incidents are cited to show some of the complications and difficulties in the supervision of prisoners of war, of which the unsophisticated are entirely unaware.

In the matter of food the following condition was witnessed on more than one occasion, and in other instances was related to me with considerable pride by the prisoners. On the basis of international agreements Germany was required to furnish food to the prisoners of war, even though the men did not use it, because they had sufficient in the parcels sent them by the home folks. In many cases the British prisoners would appear for the daily issue of German food, which at the noonday meal consisted of a quart of soup and a certain quantity of rye bread of the black, sour variety. As a wise precaution, the British Tommies did not refuse the food, because they feared that shipments of food from the home land might cease. It was assumed that the Germans would discontinue the issuance of food altogether should they, the British prisoners, at any time refuse to accept the daily ration. To dispose of the bread the Britishers would walk about the camp at dusk, breaking up the bread into small crumbs and scattering it broadcast about the camp, thus depriving the Germans of that much food. I often wondered why the Britishers did not turn over this bread in such cases to their Russian comrades, many of whom were sadly in need of additional food. No doubt they feared detection.

The German authorities were obviously anxious to convince the relatives of the prisoners of war that adequate food was being provided. This was accomplished in various ways, the most effective no doubt being the one adopted at the officers' camp at Villingen, where on all stationery used by the prisoners of war the complete menu for an entire week was given in detail. The following is a copy of such a week's menu, It should be noted that this was in August, 1915, when food supplies were still comparatively abundant in Germany and it was possible to provide more adequately for the prisoners than was the case in later years.

Camp des Officiers Prisonniers de Guerre de Villingen

Menu du 2—8 Aout, 1915

Tous les jours: 300 gr. de pain. Chaque matin: Cafe 8 gr., Cafe de Malte 5 gr., Sucre 20 gr.

Dimanche Midi
Potage aux tomates.....
Filet de boeuf roti..... 200 gr.
Haricots verts sautés..... 125 gr.
Pommes frites..... 350 gr.
Compote..... 200 gr.
Soir
Saucisses grilless, sauce piquante..... 200 gr.
Salade..... 200 gr.
Pommes sautées..... 350 gr.

Lundi Midi
Potage de riz.....
Pate de veau roti au jus.... 152 gr.
Choux blancs a la Bavaroise. 155 gr.
Pommes de terre en robe de chambre..... 350 gr.
Fruits..... 200 gr.
Soir
2 oeufs durs, sauce Bechamel Salade..... 200 gr.
Pommes de terre a l'etuvée.. 350 gr.

Mardi Midi
Potage aux nouilles tapioca. 10 gr.
Aloyau roti..... 200 gr.
Avec macaroni au gratin a l'etuvée..... 70 gr.
Soir
Goulache a la Hongroise.... 162 gr.

Mercredi Midi
Potage de Sagou.....
Boeuf bouilli..... 200 gr.
Choux blancs braisés..... 155 gr.
au jus et pommes sautées... 350 gr.
Compote..... 200 gr.
Soir
Pate de veau froid..... 152 gr.
Saucisson de Lyon..... 125 gr.
Salade..... 200 gr.
Pommes sautées..... 350 gr.

Jeudi Midi
Potage d'orge, tapioca..... 10 gr.
Gigot de mouton roti..... 200 gr.
Haricots verts sautés..... 125 gr.
Puree de pommes..... 350 gr.
Soir
Gateau de mais..... 300 gr.
Compote de pruneaux..... 200 gr.

Vendredi Midi
Potage Parmentier.....
Colin court boullonne avec sauce moutarde..... 350 gr.
Pommes a Soir l'etuvée.... 350 gr.
Fruits..... 200 gr.
Blanquette de veau..... 200 gr.
Riz au gras..... 300 gr.

Samedi Midi
Soupe—Borsch russe—Tapioca { carottes nouvelles, choux blancs, pommes de terre et tomates
Boeuf avec concombres et radis en salade..... 200 gr.
Soir
Ragout de mouton..... 200 gr.
aux pommes de terre..... 350 gr.

The following menu cards, for the prisoners' kitchen of Camp Münster III. September 5–11, 1915, show the food given the ordinary soldiers in a prison camp:

Day	*Morning*		*Noon*		*Evening*	
Sunday.....	Cocoa.....	20 gr.	Barley.....	80 gr.	Potatoes...	600 gr.
			Plums.....	100 gr.	Peas and bacon....	50 gr.
			Sugar.....	15 gr.	Cheese.....	100 gr.
			Potatoes....700 gr.		Soup powder	

Day	*Morning*		*Noon*		*Evening*	
Monday....	Coffee.....	4 gr.	Potatoes...	700 gr.	Soup powder	40 gr.
	Supplement.	6 gr.	Mutton....	120 gr.	Potato flour.	10 gr.
	Sugar.....	30 gr.	White and red cabbage..	400 gr.	Potatoes....	600 gr.
Tuesday....	Soup.....		Potatoes....	700 gr.	Potatoes in	
	Soybean flour	15 gr.	Bean flour...	100 gr.	jackets...	600 gr.
	Sugar.....	30 gr.	Bacon.....	15 gr.	Pickled herring...	1 st.
Wednesday.	Coffee.....	4 gr.	Sauerkraut.	100 gr.	Potato soup	
	Supplement.	6 gr.	Soybeans...	100 gr.	Potatoes....	700 gr.
	Sugar.....	30 gr.	Pigs' feet...	190 gr.	Fat.....	15 gr.
			Potatoes...	700 gr.		
Thursday...	Soup.....		Beet greens.	400 gr.	Soup powder	40 gr.
	Tapioca flour.....	15 gr.	Potatoes...	700 gr.	Potato flour.	10 gr.
			Fat.....	15 gr.	Potatoes....	600 gr.
	Powdered milk.....	20 gr.			Shell fish...	250 gr.
	Sugar.....	30 gr.				
Friday.....	Coffee.....	4 gr.	Potatoes...	800 gr.	Peas and	
	Supplement.	6 gr.	Dried fish..	150 gr.	Bacon....	50 gr.
	Sugar.....	30 gr.			Potatoes...	600 gr.
Saturday...	Soup powder	50 gr.	Potatoes....	700 gr.	Soup powder	40 gr.
	Potato flour.	10 gr.	Green peas..	130 gr.	Potato flour.	10 gr.
			Beef.....	120 gr.	Potatoes...	600 gr

These amounts represent the quota per prisoner. The food was usually prepared in the form of a soup, one quart of which was supposed to contain the quantity of ingredients indicated. In addition each prisoner received daily a quantity of black bread ranging from 350 grams (about eleven ounces) in the early days of the War down to 200 grams in the later days.

As the War continued and the blockade about Germany increased in effectiveness, food conditions became increasingly serious. Towards Christmas, 1916, they had attained alarming proportions, and obviously those prisoners of war who were dependent upon German food because their governments or home folks could not or would not send food suffered terribly. The following incident illustrates perhaps as well as any how intense this suffering was. In one of the camps near Berlin the president of the Russian Relief Committee was a big, stalwart, kind-eyed Russian attorney. He was liked by all and our secretary invariably spent considerable time with him whenever he visited the camp. On one of these visits he failed to find the man in his



Types of Prisoners from India



View in One of the Barracks at Göttingen

customary quarters. Inquiry as to his whereabouts revealed the fact that he was in the hospital, recovering from self-inflicted wounds made in an attempt to commit suicide. The secretary then called on him in the hospital barracks, and asked the reason for the attempted suicide. The Russian replied that he had been unable to endure any longer the piteous appeals of his countrymen for food, with no means whatsoever of bringing them relief. Driven to desperation by the sight of their suffering, he attempted suicide.

It was fortunate that the need of man power in Germany became so urgent, for it resulted in the sending out of most of the prisoners of war into the agricultural communities to work on the farms, and food conditions there were far superior to those which prevailed in the prison camps. Personally, I regard this feature of employment of the prisoners as providential in the case of the Russians, Serbians, and Roumanians, for had it not taken place and had all these men been compelled to remain in the camps and to subsist on the food which the German authorities were able to provide, death by starvation would have been appalling in the number of victims it would have claimed. The British prisoners of war, as well as the French and many of the Italians were much better off, for their respective governments sent in food in large quantities to care for them.

CHAPTER VIII

HELP IN BOTH WORSHIP AND STUDY

During the early months of 1916 additional secretaries arrived from America, so that by Christmas of that year we had the majority of our staff active in the camps. As has been previously stated, these field secretaries were assigned to a number of Army Corps, the camps in which were their responsibility. They planned to visit these once or twice a month, in rare cases oftener. In each camp was organized, a special camp Y M C A committee from among the prisoners, which assumed responsibility for the activities which our secretaries promoted and supported. By this arrangement it was possible for our staff of thirteen secretaries to visit in the course of a month from forty to fifty different camps, covering approximately one third of the camps in Germany. After the work was once established less time was required in each visit; thus one of our secretaries visited twenty-five camps in thirty-four days. Another made 108 camp visits in four months, visiting eighteen different camps, some as often as twenty-seven times in the course of the four months. The following list of camps visited between July 8 and August 11, 1917, will show the remarkably wide area sometimes covered by a secretary:

July 8th—Altdamm
July 10th—Sagan and Sprottau
July 11th—Neuhammer a. Q.
July 12th—Lauban
July 13th—Reisen
July 16th—Czersk
July 17th—Hammerstein
July 18th—Stargard Po.
July 19th—Gustrow
July 20th—Augustabad
July 21st—Stralsund-Danholm
July 25th—Stralkowo
July 26th—Skalmierschutz
July 27th—Neisse
July 27th—Lamsdorf
July 28th—Gnadenfrei
July 30th—Schneidemuhl
July 31st—Arys
August 1st—Pr. Holland
August 2nd—Mewe
August 3rd—Danzig-Troyl
August 8th—Parchim
August 9th—Bad Stuer
August 11th—Fürstenberg

The following is the record of another secretary during the course of four months (September, October, November, and

December, 1916). The figures represent the number of times the camp in question was visited during the period:

Cottbus-Sielow	27	Müncheberg	3
Doeberitz	13	Havelberg	3
Dyrotz	12	Crossen	3
Berlin Lazarette	10	Cüstrin-Ft. Zorndorf	2
Cottbus-Merzdorf	7	Halbe	2
Ruhleben	6	Brandenburg	2
Frankfurt a / Oder	6	Blankenburg	2
Guben	4	Beeskow	1
Cüstrin-Ft. Gorgast	4	Berger Damm	1

One secretary writes as follows of the work done on these visits:

"The outstanding features of the past four months' work include:

"1. Completion and dedication of a beautiful Y M C A church building at Cottbus, Sielow Camp.

"2. Construction and opening of a small Y M C A church building at Doeberitz and arrangements completed for similar building at Dyrotz.

"3. Privilege of giving a religious talk to Britishers once a month in Cottbus, Dyrotz, Doeberitz, and Ruhleben.

"4. Collection of 840 handicraft articles for the prisoner-of-war bazaar in Stockholm.

"5. Supplying musical instruments at Cottbus-Sielow, Cottbus-Merzdorf, Dyrotz, and Doeberitz, to be paid for by the prisoners of war on the instalment plan.

"6. Furnishing handicraft tools or materials to hospitals in Berlin, Guben, and Crossen, and to camps in Cottbus-Sielow, Merzdorf, and arrest-barracks (privates), to Cüstrin-Fort Gorgast (Russian officers), and to Müncheberg and Havelberg (civilian men, women, and children).

"7. Furnishing athletic equipment or indoor games to Blankenburg (English officers), Brandenburg, Crossen, Frankfurt, Guben, Müncheberg, Dyrotz, Doeberitz, and Cottbus (all three camps).

"8. Purchasing stereopticon equipment for one camp, radiopticon for another, and a second radiopticon which is being used on a circuit of camps for educational and religious talks.

"9. Securing books or school supplies for Dyrotz, Cottbus (Sielow, Merzdorf, and arrest camps), Berlin hospital, Crossen, Havelberg, Halbe, and Beeskow (French officers).

"10. Making up lists of prisoners who desired news or parcels from home from all the camps visited except Havelberg, Müncheberg, Brandenburg, and the officers' camps.

"11. Ordering crosses, special religious books, candles, or holy meal for Russian Orthodox priests, Roman Catholic priests, or English church leaders in Cottbus, Doeberitz, Dyrotz, Brandenburg, Blankenburg, and Berger Damm.

"12. Conducting a chess tournament in Cottbus-Sielow and planning for others in Müncheberg and Fort Gorgast."

The concluding words of the address by the Camp Commander at the dedication of the Y M C A building at Cottbus-Sielow are significant enough to be quoted here:

"When some day the bells ring in peace and you who are now prisoners are again at home with your wives and babes, and when your dear old mother lovingly welcomes you, then tell them of the hardships you endured, but do not forget this hour of dedication; tell your people that even in the enemy's country God's love did not forsake you. Then, too, we who are Germans will sheath our swords, in the presence of the spirit represented by the inscription above the entrance to this building: 'Peace on earth and good will toward men.' Amen."

Through our neutral headquarters at Copenhagen we were able to purchase and import many supplies no longer to be had in Germany, in addition to special food supplies which were packed in individual parcels and sent to prisoners of war whom our camp secretaries reported as in dire need. This phase of our work, however, remained secondary throughout, as food and clothing relief was not our responsibility. There were months, however, when we shipped as high as 30,000 individual food parcels, certain in each case that the parcel would be received by a needy and deserving man.

In the early days of 1916, in conjunction with the German branch of the Y M C A movement, the publication of Russian literature was begun. Our secretaries in attempting to organize schools were greatly handicapped by a lack of all necessary books. It was found in the case of the Russians that seventy-five to eighty-five per cent were illiterate, but no elementary books in Russian, such as were needed, were available. One of the secretaries who had lived many years in Russia and understood the Russian character and spirit thoroughly was immediately set to work editing and publishing the necessary literature. An ABC book was the first to be printed; it was published in an issue of several

hundred thousand copies and freely circulated in the prison camps. Then came demands for elementary textbooks; these were edited and printed by our headquarters in Berne, Switzerland. Books on chemistry, astronomy, agriculture, and hygiene were published one by one in an effort to meet the growing demand. Similarly, a Russian prayer book was prepared, care being taken to prevent anything from entering into the make-up which could possibly give offense to the high church officials of the Greek Orthodox Church in Russia. Next extracts from Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," appropriate and likely to appeal to the mystic in the Russian character, were translated and published in pamphlet form and widely distributed. Russian religious literature and Bibles and New Testaments secured through the Bible Society in Berlin, were much in demand and received wide circulation through our field camp secretaries.

Through special arrangements with our headquarters in Stockholm it was possible to secure a large number of the ritual books for Easter and similar church days used by the Russian Church. These were distributed to the various Russian priests in the different camps in the country.

A most interesting episode in connection with the furnishing of church ritual material was the manner in which we secured the antimensia (a special form of altar cloth). These, in order to be of value, must be blessed by the Bishop of the Greek Catholic Church at Petrograd. After such blessing it was sacrilege for any lay person to touch the cloths. These were not to be had in Germany and yet were essential for the Greek Catholic Church services for the Russian prisoners. How to get them into Germany from Russia without defilement by the German censors and customs officials at the frontier, who examined everything thoroughly, was the problem that confronted us. Finally the following plan was successfully carried through. The Russian Synod at Petrograd contributed a dozen of these cloths and after they had been blessed delivered them carefully wrapped and sealed to one of the Russian Red Cross sisters who was proceeding to Austria for a visit to the Russian prisoners there. Careful telegraphic report was made to us as to the date of her arrival at the Danish-German frontier. We in turn secured the services of the Greek Catholic priest attached to the Greek Embassy in Berlin, getting permission for

him, after considerable red tape, to accompany the writer to Warnemünde, the frontier station through which the Red Cross sister was to come. Here we met the latter, who turned over the sealed package containing the altar cloths to the Greek priests in the presence of the German censors and customs house officials. These were courteous, but intent on fulfilling their duty of inspecting all goods which passed into Germany from the outside. The priest then proceeded to break the seal, opened the parcel and one by one held up the individual altar cloths for the scrutinizing gaze of the German officials, carefully holding them at a distance to prevent sacrilegious defilement of the cloths by a layman.

A demand reached us from many Russians in different camps for the small crosses or icons worn by all devout Greek Catholics about their necks. Many of the Russian prisoners, we discovered, had lost these in the scramble and fighting at the front and felt very much at a loss in their private personal devotions in which these crosses or icons played an important part. Through negotiations with our headquarters in Russia, some 300,000 of these crosses were kindly contributed by Her Imperial Majesty, Empress Alexandra Feodorovna of Russia, as a token of her thoughtful remembrance of the Russian prisoners who had fought so bravely for her country. Sick men especially were most grateful for these crosses, and many a man with tears in his eyes expressed his thanks to us with a request that we thank Her Imperial Majesty for this thoughtful gift.

The World's Committee of the Y M C A began the publishing of a small monthly magazine or paper known as *The Messenger*. This was printed in English, French, Russian, and Italian editions and freely circulated in all the prison camps of the European countries, where it was eagerly welcomed by the prisoners, who in the early days were greatly in need of reading matter. To our surprise we discovered that fully fifty to sixty per cent of the Italian prisoners were illiterate. Here again we were compelled to edit and publish ABC books, for distribution in those camps where elementary schools were being organized among the Italian prisoners of war. Conditions with reference to English and French books were far better in most camps. Large numbers of English books in the Tauchnitz editions were purchased in Germany and innumerable books were sent to our office from friends in Germany

and neutral countries for distribution among these prisoners. The Danish Red Cross and H. R. H. the Crown Princess of Sweden also furnished books. Magazines were most popular, but owing to censor regulations these had to be old issues, nothing published since 1913 being permitted. Thanks to the cooperation of friends in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway we were able to secure large quantities of such magazines, but even these, in spite of the fact that they were issues published prior to 1913, required careful censorship on our part in order to eliminate any offending pictures or cartoons. Any objectionable cartoon, or for that matter article, appearing in magazines sent out by us was liable to result in the immediate withdrawal of the permission we had secured to furnish prisoners with such magazines. At the headquarters in Berlin a man was employed regularly for this task of censorship of all books sent out by our headquarters to the prisoners of war in Germany.

For a number of camps such as Ruhleben, Heidelberg, and Villingen it was possible to make arrangements with the university libraries or the Royal Library at Berlin to draw books for the use of the many students among the prisoners who were anxious to do research reading. Mention has been made of the arrangement made with the Royal Library of Berlin for the loan of books to the British prisoners at Ruhleben.

In connection with the literature distributed by our organization, which was largely handled by Mr. Grote, the following figures will be significant:

From August 1 to October 31, 1917, there were shipped from the Berlin office 96,914 books and pamphlets in seventeen different languages. These included Tartar, Turkish, Flemish, Finnish, Esthonian, English, French, Russian, Roumanian, Serbian, and Armenian languages. Aside from these, large numbers of books were shipped directly from England to the English prisoners of war. On the whole the prisoners of war were well supplied with literature, although the men in the remote working commandos were not provided for so well. We attempted to secure literature for them by launching circulating libraries from the parent camps. These in many cases proved most welcome and effective, for the men in these working detachments were cut off from all access to literature in their native tongue, and books

sent out from the camp were everywhere welcomed with a shout of joy.

Attention should be called at this point to the cooperation received from various university laboratories in rendering assistance to ambitious students among the prisoners of war. A request for a telescope came to us from a Russian officer, a professor of astronomy, which we referred to certain Germans interested in our work. The result was that we secured an excellent telescope to be used by the Russian for a number of months, much to his delight and surprise. In a similar way we received a number of microscopes, which were sent to prisoners in different camps for personal and general use in connection with the school work that they were conducting. Through the efforts of Dr. E. Rotten, many other intricate and valuable laboratory instruments were secured for the use of the British civilians in the camp at Ruhleben.

The manner in which it was possible to receive assistance from the German authorities for prisoners of war is well illustrated in the case of the Russian officer, Lt. Dr. Beszenoff. Dr. Beszenoff was a specialist in bacteriology, and while a prisoner was anxious to do some work along his chosen line. Investigation on the part of our secretary in the territory resulted in securing permission from the heads of one of the bacteriological laboratories in Frankfort for Dr. Beszenoff to work there. Our secretary then secured permission from the Army Corps, as well as from the camp authorities, for the doctor to come to Frankfort and undertake the work which he so cherished. Through the efforts of our secretary, who was held more or less responsible for him, a room in a private family was secured and thus release from the prison camp was obtained for the Russian doctor. Needless to say, he was deeply grateful for what had been done on his behalf. Some months later our headquarters received from him a scientific article giving the results of his first research work thus performed while a prisoner in Germany. Though Dr. Beszenoff understood English, he was not able to write it fluently and had, therefore, written his article in German; realizing, however, that German scientific literature would be unpopular, he made the request that we translate his article into English for possible publication in some English scientific journal. This was done.

In a similar manner special privileges were secured for students



Cemetery and Memorial Designed and Erected by Prisoners in Münster II.



French Library, Camp Ohrdruf

in various camps, such as special study rooms for those who wished to do more or less advanced work. At Göttingen one of the university professors gave most of his time to the students among the prisoners in the camp, rendering accessible to them the books and laboratories of the University. As a result of this unwarranted interest, the professor suffered considerable persecution from his more nationalistic colleagues. Later this camp became one of the propaganda camps, in this case for Flemish prisoners of war, and the professor was utilized by the Government in furnishing German propaganda among these men.

In this connection a word or two with reference to these propaganda camps may not be amiss. The case of Sir Roger Casement is no doubt well known to all, but just what happened in Germany in that connection is perhaps less well known. It seems that Casement proposed to the German Government the recruiting of the British prisoners of Irish nationality for the Irish revolution. Definite negotiations were entered into, with the result that the German Government agreed to concentrate all Irish prisoners in one camp so far as possible and agreed further, in case Sir Roger Casement succeeded in securing their support for his revolutionary plans, to equip fully such companies or regiments of Irish soldiers as might result. With this end in view, a questionnaire was circulated by the authorities among British prisoners of war to secure data regarding the number of Irish prisoners among them. All such prisoners were then transported and concentrated in the camp at Limburg and here Sir Roger Casement and other friends of the Irish cause were permitted to lecture and to influence the Irish soldiers. Their efforts, however, met with little success. According to a statement made, only thirty-four of the Irish prisoners actually volunteered to enter a revolutionary company.

Propaganda camps for other nationalities were established in different parts of Germany. Thus, the camp at Rastatt was unusually well equipped, in order to exert influence upon the Ukrainians who were concentrated there. After peace with Russia, special delegates from the Ukraine were permitted by Germany to visit this camp, and efforts in this case met with better success. In a later chapter mention will be made of the camp at Rastatt, for it was there that our American prisoners were concentrated. At Zossen two propaganda camps for Mohammedans were estab-

lished. One, known as Weinberg, was reserved for Mohammedans from Russia; the other at Wunstorf was given up to Mohammedans from northern Africa and India. In this latter camp special quarters were also provided for the Sikhs, Gurkhas, Hindus, and similar races found among the captured. In both these camps diligent and subtle efforts were made by a process of compulsory volunteering to secure recruits for the German Army, in the hope of sending such Mohammedans into Palestine and Macedonia to incite the inhabitants to take up arms in the so-termed "Holy War." I had the privilege of visiting both these camps, although both were closed to alien civilians aside from those vitally interested in the propaganda carried on. On the pretext that we were prepared to secure various food articles required by the Indians, such as curry powder, admission to the camp was granted, so that we might consult with the men about such condiments as were needed. It will be interesting to know that the Indian prisoners estimated their requirements of curry powder at seven grams per man per day. Through the efforts of Dr. Harte, the American Embassy in London, and the Indian Y M C A Movement, large quantities of curry powder were secured and sent to the camp for distribution among these representatives from far-away Eastern lands.

In the camp at Wunstorf a splendid mosque, correct in every architectural feature, had been erected as a gift of the Kaiser to the Mohammedans of the camp. Every detail of equipment had been carefully copied, including the courtyard with its marble footbaths, the colored lights of the mosque, prayer rugs, and all. The photographs represent how successful the Germans were in their propaganda. I was told that some 15,000 Mohammedans from these camps were thus recruited, disciplined, goose-stepped, equipped with German uniforms, and sent to Macedonia and Palestine to supplement the German and Turkish armies there.

When I visited the camp for Russian Mohammedans I saw several companies of these men who had volunteered, return to the camp in full dress parade order. At the head were the German officers on horseback, followed by a band, and after them row on row of well-disciplined Russians now transformed into efficient German troops. This parade entered the camp at the noon hour and passed up and down along the compounds, behind whose

barbed wire barricades former comrades gazed at the splendor of those who had deserted them. The kitchen and mess for the new recruits were so situated that the poor unfortunate but loyal ones could see the large and varied rations which were given to those who had volunteered for German service. It is obvious that they looked on with longing and desire and many yielded to the temptation, for the pull of an empty stomach is a powerful argument.

For circulation among the prisoners in all propaganda camps special newspapers and literature were published. Similar propaganda camps were also established for the German Russians and for the white Russians, and attempts were made among the American prisoners, but these fell flat and remained most ineffective.

CHAPTER IX

WORKING UNDER SURVEILLANCE

On April 8, 1916, an important meeting was called by the head of the War Prisoners' Department of the War Ministry upon request of Dr. Harte. The object of the meeting was to place our work on a more efficient basis, which could best be achieved through proper organization. This was a memorable meeting in many respects. Those present included the following:

His Royal Highness, Prince Max of Baden, Chairman; His Excellency, Count Pourtales, Vice-Chairman; Their Excellencies General von Pfuel and Dr. von Studt, of the Red Cross; Count von Spitzenberg, Privy-Counselor of H. I. M. the Empress of Germany; General-Major Friedrich, Lieutenant-Colonel Bauer, and Captain Count von Boenigk, of the Prisoners-of-War Department of the War Ministry in Berlin; Professor T. C. Hall, American Exchange Professor; Dr. A. C. Harte, International General Secretary of the War Prisoners' Aid of the Y M C A; Dr. Gerhard Niedermeyer, National Secretary of the German Student Movement; His Excellency Michaelis, Chairman of the German Student Movement; Mr. Conrad Hoffman, National Senior Secretary of the War Prisoners' Aid of the Y M C A in Germany; Mr. Rosenkranz and Mr. Meyer, of the German National Committee of the Y M C A.

The following neutral Ambassadors in Berlin were chosen as honorary members: Their Excellencies J. W. Gerard, Polo de Bernabe, Count Moltke, and Count Taube, of the American, Spanish, Danish, and Swedish Embassies.

The meeting was held in the German War Ministry and was far-reaching in its influence upon the work for prisoners of war in Russia and in Germany. As a result of this meeting the following activities of our Y M C A secretaries were recommended and permitted by the authorities who were present:

"The work of the secretaries shall consist in promoting and developing, with utilization to the fullest extent possible of the prisoners themselves, the following features:

"1. Halls or barracks for religious services, schools, etc.

"2. Equipment for athletics, gymnastics, and playgrounds, using Y M C A funds for this purpose.

"3. Handicraft work of all kinds, by supplying the necessary tools and raw material for the same.

"4. Libraries.

"5. Baths and washing facilities where necessary.

"6. Hospitals, disinfectant equipment, medical supplies, bandage materials, etc.

"7. Equipment for dental work.

"8. Distribution of food parcels; method to be determined and regulated by the Executive Committee.

"9. Extension or erection of adequate canteen facilities.

"10. Transmission of moneys, making advances of funds and arrangements for adequate exchange. To be under the control of the Executive Committee."

These recommendations, supplemented by the permits issued to the secretaries by the War Ministry, served as a basis for all our work. As a result of this important meeting, a special executive committee was appointed, which included the following: Professor T. C. Hall, Chairman; His Royal Highness Prince Max of Baden, Honorary Chairman; Captain Count von Boenigk; Dr. G. Niedermeyer, National Secretary of the German Christian Student Movement; Mr. Conrad Hoffman.

A translation of the permit originally issued has already been given. The modified form issued subsequent to the above meeting and used to the end of the War follows:

"The Swiss citizen.....is hereby granted permission as representative of the Young Men's Christian Association, to visit the prisoner-of-war camps and hospitals in the territory of the .....Army Corps. He is permitted to inspect the camp equipment, management, and organization, to investigate the general welfare and condition of the prisoners, to ascertain their wishes relative to supplies wanted, to take notes and to take photographs of the prisoners (in the presence of a German officer). Permission to confer with the prisoners alone, in the absence of a guard or interpreter, can be granted by the Commanding General of the Army Corps involved.

"The local authorities are hereby requested to give the bearer every possible courtesy, protection, and cooperation.

"This permit expires June 30, 1917; should the activity of the

bearer not end previously, the permit is to be returned to the War Ministry for renewal not later than the date of expiration of the same.

"Signed.....
"Chief of the Prisoner-of-War Dept.
Prussian War Ministry."

The first permits issued by the War Ministry, as previously stated, entitled the holder to visit the camps and converse with the prisoners, unaccompanied by any German official or interpreter. In the early spring of 1916 this liberty to visit the camps without an accompanying German official was withdrawn, because of various abuses of the privilege by individuals who had been permitted to visit the camps as representatives of neutral countries and relief agencies. Such, at least, was the explanation given by the War Ministry. It can be readily understood that our work was greatly handicapped when it became necessary to have such an officer accompany each of the secretaries whenever they visited prison camps. We did our utmost to secure the prolongation of the original permits with the coveted privilege, but in vain. No doubt there was a tendency on the part of some of the camp commandants to regard our workers with suspicion, especially when they saw the extent of the relief to body, mind, and soul which the work on behalf of the prisoners of war brought to the men. It is not improbable that these men requested the War Ministry to restrict our activities. The change in our permits accomplished this restriction to the fullest degree possible.

It may be of interest to cite some of the difficulties our camp secretaries had to meet. For instance, one of our secretaries, while going about on the basis of the old permits in one of his camps, was requested by a Russian prisoner to mail a post card for him. Most emphatic instructions had been given to all our men never to bring into or take out of a camp any written or printed material of any description without having submitted it to the camp censor. The secretary thus accosted by the Russian should never have accepted the post card, for each camp was provided with a postoffice through which all mail to and from the prisoners passed in the regular order of things. However, he took the card and a little later as he passed the censor's office attempted to submit it to the censor for approval, but found the office locked.

He then placed the card in his coat pocket and in his further duties about the camp forgot entirely about it. When he came to the gate on his way out of the camp, the German guard there challenged him for his pass and asked whether he had any written material from the prisoners. Our secretary immediately thought of the postcard and presented it; but circumstantial evidence was against him. The result was that the camp commandant reported the incident to the Corps Commander, who in turn notified the War Ministry. In spite of our sincere efforts on his behalf we were compelled to withdraw this secretary from the field. I still believe that this post card incident had been planned by some German official in the camp opposed to our secretary, as a trap to secure his withdrawal.

In most camps after a number of visits one became fairly well acquainted with certain individual prisoners. On coming to a camp one was usually greeted most heartily by such individuals. This was the case with one of our secretaries, who, under the new permits, was accompanied by a German interpreter when presented to a number of his old-time friends among the prisoners. As was customary he shook hands with each, but very much to his concern he felt one of the prisoners press a piece of paper into his hand during the hand-shaking process. It required quick decision to know what to do. Fortunately our secretary destroyed the note in question without the knowledge of the German official accompanying him.

Another difficulty which confronted us and caused us considerable anxiety was the fear that those men who had been chosen by us to head up our Y M C A work within the camp, and who by virtue of such position received considerable liberty from the German authorities to carry out their function, would abuse the privileges given. Fortunately this very rarely occurred, although in one case the committee in charge of arrangements for an elaborate two-day track meet and athletic contest, which the Y M C A was promoting, made an attempt to escape when on an errand in connection with the program. It required most profuse explanation to free us from the suspicion that was naturally awakened. The track meet in question was immediately called off by the German authorities and greatly increased supervision and curtailment of the privileges of the prisoners was enforced.

As has been stated, the attendance of an interpreter whenever our secretaries visited the camps greatly handicapped their efficiency and lessened the possibilities of service. Because of the shortage of men, the German staff of supervision in charge of the camps was working over time. Visits by our secretaries necessitated the interpreter's presence and thus interrupted his regular duties for several hours. As a result, our secretaries proved unwelcome and failed in many cases to get the cooperation necessary to accomplish their object. The greatest emphasis possible was placed by our secretaries upon their attempts to win the friendship of these camp interpreters, and in most cases they succeeded admirably. As the permission of the War Ministry entitled our secretaries to camp visitation without any restriction as to the number of visits, we invariably urged them to make as many visits as possible in the course of a month. The interpreter in most cases thus learned to know our men and, finding that they could be relied upon, would before many weeks had passed permit them to go about freely in the camp, while the interpreter hurried back to his more pressing duties at the censor's office. In this way several of our secretaries still continued to work in many camps unattended by any German official, although our permits required such attendance.

Repeated appeals and petitions to the German War Ministry to give us greater freedom in this respect finally succeeded in their agreeing to place the burden of responsibility for such freedom upon the Corps Commanders, and we immediately approached these in the hope of securing the freedom desired. Our first success was with the Commander of the Fourth Army Corps, who without much hesitation granted our secretary permission to visit camps in the territory without the attendance of a guide or interpreter. On the basis of this precedent we succeeded in securing similar permission in a number of other camps and Army Corps; but unfortunately when we approached the commander of the Third Army Corps, a corps in which we had been more or less handicapped from the very beginning by an insidious opposition to the bottom of which we could never come, he immediately protested and requested several of the other Army Corps commanders to withdraw the permission they had already granted us, which unfortunately they did.



Dedication of Russian Cemetery Memorial in the Prison Camp, Frankfort

During the year 1916 a considerable service was rendered in the transmission of money to prisoners of war from their relatives. It is true there were regularly authorized channels for such transmission, but in view of the fact that our secretaries came in personal contact with the prisoners many relatives preferred to forward money through our agency. This was particularly true of German prisoners in Russia and Siberia and Russian prisoners in Germany, although to a very limited extent we served as a forwarding agency for French and British prisoners in Germany, and vice versa, German prisoners in France and England. Many Germans reported that of all the various agencies through whom they had sent money to their imprisoned ones, ours had been the only one to get the money to the prisoners. Several hundred thousand marks in small sums ranging from five to one hundred marks each were forwarded to German prisoners in Russia and Siberia and approximately 50,000 marks or roubles were distributed by us among Russians in Germany on order of their relatives. Much labor was required to do this efficiently, especially in the case of the Russian prisoners of war. It was necessary to verify each address before forwarding the money, because of the frequent transfer of prisoners from one camp to another. Not infrequently it occurred that we received an order to pay money to a certain Russian prisoner of war, only to discover that there were eleven or more prisoners of the same name in the camp. The inadequate data furnished by the sender in such cases required further inquiry in Russia, with the result that payments were frequently delayed many months.

In Berlin there were several thousand Russian citizens throughout the War. Many of them had been cut off at the beginning of the War, and others had fled into Germany before the advancing armies of the early days of the War and had found refuge with friends in Berlin. A large number of these were influential men and women who, during the first year and a half of the War, received funds via the neutral countries from their relatives in Russia. However, the upheaval in Russia and the occupation of the country by the Bolsheviki caused this support to cease, with the result that these people were hard put to it for finances. A number of the more influential of the group thereupon attempted to organize a special relief committee for Russian civilians in

Germany, but immediately encountered difficulties with the German authorities, for no organization of enemy aliens was tolerated in Germany during the War, much less any assembly of them. They were thus helpless to render organized relief to their less fortunate fellow-countrymen.

In consultation with them it was suggested that possibly, if we assumed responsibility for them, a subcommittee could be organized and permitted to work under our supervision. To this the authorities after considerable deliberation and negotiation finally agreed, so that we served in the capacity of sponsor and adviser for the Russian Relief Committee. A remarkably fine piece of work was done by this group of men. It was necessary for them not only to provide relief for those in need, but also to collect the funds with which this relief was to be carried on. A working committee of ten was chosen, the members of which canvassed the Russians in Berlin who possessed considerable funds and thus raised sufficient money to provide the needy families with a monthly stipend. In the period from October, 1916, to September, 1917, this committee, under our sponsorship, collected and distributed 44,800 marks and served on an average more than one hundred individuals and families every month. No one not acquainted with the condition of some of these families can fully appreciate how welcome this help, although never large, proved to be. It saved many a family from dire want and starvation.

CHAPTER X

THE SECOND CHRISTMAS

Christmas, 1916, found us with a fairly good organization and with a work that was proving increasingly effective in its service to the prisoners of war. Arrangements had been made with Her Royal Highness the Crown Princess of Sweden to dispose of all articles made by prisoners of war which we could purchase from them. The offer made by our staff to the prisoners to pay them liberally for their finished products proved encouraging to many, so that special handicraft departments were organized in a number of camps to prepare for the exhibit and sale which Her Royal Highness was arranging. We succeeded in buying up something like 10,000 articles, for which we paid the individual prisoners and thus gave them a little pocket money, which was always welcome. The articles thus bought were sent to Sweden for the sale and proved to be so popular that several other sales were held during the course of the following year, not only in Sweden but in Norway and Denmark as well.

Each secretary arranged for as many Christmas celebrations as possible in his territory, concentrating his efforts largely on the hospital camps. In Saxony each camp received a shipment of games, books, and the like for the Christmas celebration. From the Berlin office one hundred entertainment boxes so-called were sent out to different camps. Various committees in Sweden and Norway sent us several thousand gift packages, which we distributed among invalids in hospitals in and near Berlin. With a gift of 3,000 marks from a German who had been many years in Russia, we purchased sausage from Denmark for some 6,000 Russian prisoners of war, each man receiving not more than a quarter of a pound, as a Christmas gift. Insignificant as the amount was, one can appreciate how welcome it proved when one realizes that many of these Russians had had practically no meat for the entire year preceding.

Especially do I recall the Christmas arranged for the 200 and

more children interned with fathers and mothers in the camp at Holzminden. It is remarkable how quickly children become acclimated to their environment, even when that is in a prison camp. Our Association proved a veritable Santa Claus to these unfortunate children. Games, simple story books, sewing material for the girls, and a few goodies, all helped to bring a little Christmas cheer to the parents and caused unlimited delight among these children.

It was my rare privilege to secure permission for our four-year-old daughter to accompany me to one of the camps near Berlin during the Christmas holidays. Never have I seen anything so pathetic and so touching as the scene that took place when the little girl, very much like a fairy dropped from heaven, appeared in the midst of the big, stalwart, unshaven men, cut off from human society and family life for a year or more. How tenderly and timidly, lest they hurt her, they fondled her hands and her cheeks. She seemed a revelation to them. They had forgotten that there were such creatures as little children. One after another asked permission to hold her on his knee. I recall the man who three different times entered the room where she was, bringing a bit of chocolate each time as an excuse for seeing her. Another man humbly asked if he might kiss her on the cheek, and in the eyes of most men tears had gathered as they no doubt thought of their own little ones at home. It was a wonderful experience and brought home to all of us the magical power of childhood, even with full grown men. As never before all of us realized the meaning of the words, "And a little child shall lead them." They showered her with gifts from their stores of supplies—plum pudding, bonbons, chocolates, and the like. We then went into the Y M C A hall and the patter of her feet as she ran through the hall attracted others who came from the adjoining rooms to see this marvel, a baby in their midst. As we left the camp the little one asked me why the men had cried, and I told her that no doubt they had been thinking of their own little girls and boys at home; and then she asked, as perhaps only a child would do, whether God was sorry for these men. How glad I was to be able to tell her, yes, God cared for these men; that that was one of the reasons, if not the chief one, why I was there.

In several of the camps our secretaries had arranged to dis-

tribute at least one orange or one apple to each of the men. One must remember that supplies were increasingly scarce and permission to buy supplies in the German market for distribution among prisoners of war was always necsesary before such supplies could be secured. In practically all camps special concerts and vaudeville performances were included in the Christmas entertainment and in all camps without exception special Christmas religious services were held. Several secretaries gave lantern slide lectures on the birth of Christ; the brightly colored religious slides which were used were especially appreciated by the Russians.

Nothing seemed more desolate than these attempts at good cheer at Christmas time, for one was aware that the longing to be at home was uppermost in the heart and mind of every man. One could not but feel how artificial and forced all the attempts at cheerfulness were, and yet how much more desolate would the lot of these men have been had not such attempts at cheerfulness been bravely made.

The following extracts from the Christmas reports of several of the secretaries, indicate further what was done for the prisoners at Christmas:

"Quite early it became evident that the hospital at Stuttgart would be the best place to hold our principal Christmas celebration. Long preparation and hearty cooperation from the hospital authorities, as well as from the Bureau of Aid in Berne, served to promote an entertainment which exceeded our most sanguine hopes. The hospital, which is in a large building formerly used as a roller skating rink, contained about sixty Russians, 140 French and twenty English wounded or sick prisoners. Each of the three nationalities formed a choir, which after weeks of practice managed to do very well indeed with two national or folk songs. An orchestra of twenty-two pieces with a splendid violin soloist came down from Camp II in Stuttgart to render the musical program. One of the local pastors gave a talk on Palestine, illustrated with lantern slides. The titles were translated into each language by an interpreter.

"All these events took place on the large stage at the far end of the great hall in which the 200 beds are placed. A Christmas tree, illuminated with colored electric lights and covered with shimmering decorations, stood on each side of the stage. The orchestra was seated in a semicircle between them. Behind was a large and ornamental organ, operated by electricity, which

played between the waits in the program. After all the numbers on the program had been given, the great lights in the ceiling were turned on, and then came the event of the evening. An international committee of the stronger men and the adjutants carried around in baskets the bags which had been prepared for each of the prisoners. In every bag were two oranges, eight apples, four pieces of ginger cake, a few candies, nuts, figs, and dates, a package of cigarettes, and a piece of green holly. They were joyfully received by all the men, and the contents were attacked on the spot with great gusto. One Russian, who had come in only the night before with a bad wound, lay in his bed sucking an orange afterward. I asked him how he felt. "*Ne ochen horoshaw*" ("Not very well") he said, but he smiled faintly, and since then he has always watched me to see if I had another bag with me. Quite a large number of German dignitaries and officials attended the celebrations here, and expressed themselves as pleased. An English captain from one of the other hospitals in the city was also allowed to come down for the evening."

"What to do for Christmas was a problem. We felt that some really useful Christmas presents would be a decided help. The Christmas present does seem to be divinely qualified to bring about that heartiness of personal friendship, upon the establishing of which the ultimate effectiveness of our work so largely depends. And yet individual gifts seemed to be out of the question. Cakes and biscuits could not be had, cigarettes did not appeal to us very much and were too expensive at any rate, and the prospect of securing 50,000 apples did not seem good for private individuals like us without official connections. Could something, however, be given to whole groups that would still have an individual appeal? Games suggested themselves at once. Here was something that would outlast Christmas day, that would make for sociability, and that would give us a chance to consider a variety of tastes. To test out the value of the suggestion it was brought before several members of the camp relief committee. Everywhere the idea was heartily approved.

"We accordingly set about furnishing a package of games to every group of twenty or more men in our field, whether in working party, camp barracks, or hospital. To be perfectly fair we included the guard rooms of all the camps in our scheme. This brought a total of about 210 groups of from twenty to a thousand men each. The packages included games like chess, dominoes, lotto, and Halma, puzzles, Jews' harps, accordeons, and candles for Christmas trees. Besides this we sent cigarettes to the German soldiers in charge of the working parties, and cigars to those in the administrative departments of the camps. In this way we used more than 1,700 games, 1,650 candles and holders, 165

musical instruments, 4,500 cigarettes, and 1,100 cigars. We also sent about 200 cards and letters of greeting to those in the camps whom we had learned to know personally during the last three months."

"The seventh of January was celebrated by the Russians and Serbs as Christmas Day, the camp authorities having given several special liberties for the day. Preparations for a considerable program of events had been made months in advance, and every care was taken to assure a splendid entertainment for the men.

"The German commandanture, at a large outlay of money, gave to each prisoner some small gift, such as a cigarette case, a pocketbook, or a comb; rack equipment was also furnished, and things were brought into the camp for the Christmas affairs.

"A concert was prepared for the day, and was given five times in order to allow all the men to hear it. There were for the Christmas days over 5,000 men in the camp, although most of them would leave again shortly. The numbers on the concert program included a few selections by the Russian orchestra, several solos by a former opera violinist, some choruses by the Russian choir, and one or two Serbian melodies by a group of Serbs with musical ability.

"In the late afternoon the main event of the day took place in the theater hall. The Russians presented to a large audience, among which were many high German officers, the four-act drama '*Die Tage Unseres Lebens*,' by L. Andrejew. It was very well done, so far as one who does not understand Russian can judge, and was tremendously applauded by the appreciative audience. Some thirty characters entered the action of the play, and the settings of the four acts involved a good deal of scene shifting. Three very creditable sets of scenery had been painted especially for the performance by one of the Russians, the one containing a panorama of Moscow being particularly well done.

"The most interesting part of the day to me, and the part in which the Y M C A played a small rôle, came after the theater. All the needy prisoners, men who received nothing from home, were lined up in barrack groups before the office barracks. There were in all some 350 such fellows, all eagerly awaiting their turn at a number. We had sent down a case of oranges, a case of apples, several hundred *lebkuchen* and cigarettes, and some Christmas cards and crucifixes. The articles were divided up into small quantities, and placed in piles on a long table. Then each Russian drew a lot from the hat which contained paper slips corresponding in number to the bags of fruit or cookies. As he passed through the barrack room he gave up his slip and received whatever article he had drawn, passing quickly out after saluting and

smiling at the amateur Santa Claus. After every one had received his gift, the barrack captains or leaders came in to receive the games which we had sent down as Christmas presents to the camps. They were also divided up among the men in lots, and each captain was charged with the safe-keeping of the games by the Major, who also explained the character of the gift and the identity of the giver. As we came out of the barrack into the bright moonlight, all of the 300 or more men saluted us in chorus with a Russian greeting and thanked us for the gifts in the same way. Then came a few words of Christmas greeting from the Major to them and I passed on towards the gate, their '*Das Vidanya*' ringing in my ears. All in all, it was a day long to be remembered."

One of our secretaries hired an auto and played the veritable Santa Claus as he traveled from one working commando to another, giving a phonograph concert and then distributing gifts—books, pictures, mouth organs, cigarettes, chocolate, and small individual Christmas parcels. In one place the senior among the Russians arose, called for a collection and wanted to buy the secretary a Christmas gift in token of appreciation for what he had done. It was one of many incidents illustrative of the gratitude of the men for the little service we were able to render them.

The following list of orders filled by our Berlin office shows the almost endless diversity of the requests received: mandolin; cod liver oil; clothing and underwear for 350 recently captured seamen; musical tutor for cornet; comic opera, marches for orchestra; footballs; English books and illustrated magazines; four sets each of draughts, chess, dominoes, and tric trac; punching bag and two pairs of boxing gloves; French novels; condensed milk and eggs for men in hospital; wheat flour, wine for Holy Communion, wax candles, incense, and oil; tennis balls, racquets and net; copies of "Jesus of Nazareth"; food parcels for officers' orderlies; German book on paper manufacture; 500 Russian New Testaments, 500 crosses, and 1000 icons; ink and fixative solution for multigraph; paper; English prayer books, Bibles, and song books for church services; darning wool; leather for shoe soles; hockey game outfit; twelve pairs of Indian clubs; phonograph with French records; Russian orthodox religious books for Easter services; supply of beads for bead work; black and white horse-hair; leather for handicraft work; spectroscope; electrical installation for scientific laboratories; some hens for a hospital, so as to have fresh eggs for



YMCA Chapel, Wiesa b/Annaberg



YMCA Public Gardens Entered in Prize Contest of the Ruhleben Horticultural Society, August, 1917

the invalids; musical instruments for organization of a band, to include bass drum, kettle drums, bassoon, and clarionet, in addition to violins and other instruments; clock for library; sewing machine for handicraft department; films for cinematograph; lantern slides for travelogue lectures; funds for urgent dental work; magazine chest, castor oil, and a knee elastic; multigraph; physico-medico apparatus; gymnastic equipment, to include horizontal and parallel bars; Pierrot costumes or cloth to make the same; six wigs; blackboard and wood for school benches; typewriter; material for Christmas decorations.

CHAPTER XI

ONLY ONE AMERICAN LEFT

In the late fall and early winter of 1916 numerous rumors concerning peace proposals were circulated. The peace proposal of the Germans and the subsequent one of President Wilson are known to all. Furthermore, all recall the contemptuous manner in which intensified submarine warfare was declared by the Germans at a time when peace, due to the intervention of the United States and President Wilson, seemed most imminent. Those of us who were in Germany at the time realized the danger of the declaration of increased submarine warfare, so far as the possibility of America's entering the War was concerned; but few of us were willing to believe that war would actually result. Continued seeing things from the German angle had distorted our viewpoint and was no doubt responsible for our optimism. So it was that the news received on a Sunday afternoon at the American Embassy in Berlin that America had broken diplomatic relations with Germany came very much as a thunderbolt from a clear sky in spite of all the previous warnings we had had of such a possibility. Excitement ran high and speculation as to what would happen next was unlimited.

The breaking of diplomatic relations naturally would have a marked influence upon work like ours, conducted by Americans and supported by an American organization. Our secretarial staff at the time numbered thirteen. We were unanimous in desiring to remain and to carry on, but we had not reckoned with the desires of the German War Ministry in the matter. A hurried visit was immediately made to the American Embassy for instructions, and another to the German War Ministry, to learn through the War Prisoners Department the possible action of the War Ministry with relation to our work. There we learned that our continuance in service was out of the question. That morning, less than twenty-four hours after news of the breaking of diplomatic relations had reached Berlin, the War Ministry had

telegraphed all prisoner-of-war camps that the American Y M C A secretaries were no longer to be admitted into the camps—significant and decisive evidence that it was all up with our work.

As Senior Secretary, I immediately wired all secretaries in the field to close up their work and hurry to Berlin, bringing their personal baggage and all records with them. Hurried conferences were held with Prince Max of Baden, the patron of our work, Professor Hall, and others, to decide on our plan of action. Several additional conferences with members of the War Ministry followed. Summing up all opinions and evidence gathered in these conferences led to the conclusion that immediate withdrawal of the American secretaries from the work was most expedient, and furthermore, that the departure of the American secretaries should be hurried so that they might go with the Ambassador's party. The members of the American Embassy were already making hurried preparations for departure. It was necessary to secure special permission, through the Embassy from the German Foreign Department, for our secretaries thus to leave with the Ambassador's party.

After much consultation and serious deliberation, the German War Ministry finally consented to permit me to remain in Germany, and furthermore granted permission for our organization to secure and employ secretaries from neutral countries to replace the Americans who were to leave. This decision was reached on the following grounds: On the basis of reciprocity on which our work had been organized, we were carrying on work in Russia, England, and France on behalf of the German prisoners of war, very similar to the work we had done in Germany. Since the immediate and precipitate withdrawal of all Americans from the German field would involve complete cessation of our work there for the Allied prisoners, from the standpoint of reciprocity work on behalf of German prisoners in other countries must also cease. It seemed essential, furthermore, that one of the American secretaries, experienced in the work and knowing the official circumstances, should remain at least sufficiently long for the neutral secretaries who were to be secured to become initiated into the work, and win the confidence of the authorities in charge. As I had been senior secretary for our work, the choice fell upon me.

When my consent was given to remain, it was with the understanding that at any time, in case conditions should warrant, permission would be granted me to leave the country. This promise could not be secured in writing, although the head of the War Prisoners Department of the War Ministry, General Friedrichs, vouched personally for my safety.

Thanks to the kindness of the American Embassy, we were fortunately able to arrange for our secretaries and their families to leave with the Ambassador's party. One reason for the hurried departure was that all knew or assumed that the Ambassador's ship would have safe conduct across the Atlantic. Visions of the greatly increased ruthless submarine warfare made it seem imperative that our men and their families travel with the Ambassador's party as the only safe method of getting to America. Any other ship would be in danger of being sunk by the submarines, to which we attributed what later proved to be an exaggerated effectiveness.

Strenuous and breakneck speed on the part of our secretaries and their families made it possible for them to leave with the Ambassador's party on Saturday, February 10th. On Friday, February 9th, the day before their departure, our secretaries were called together, upon the request of His Royal Highness, Prince Max of Baden, for a final word of farewell from him. The address, which was given in English, follows herewith:

"I have asked you to come here in order to thank you, before you depart, for the work you have accomplished in our camps. I am justified in doing this because I had taken upon myself the protectorate of your mission at the request of those who sent you here, and because I am able by personal observation and by the reports that I received to judge of the exceptional merits of your activity.

"I can assure you that cooperation with you and your superiors has been one of the most gratifying experiences that I have had in this war, at a time when the very foundations upon which the life of nations and their relations to one another have hitherto rested are tottering and threaten to crumble completely. The work among prisoners of war represents in my estimation a great pillar around which all those thoughts and feelings that concern universal brotherhood can gather, a brotherhood that declines to see in the captured and wounded enemy anything else than a suffering human being. I shall never forget the discussions on

this subject that I have had with your leaders, of whom I would mention first of all Messrs. Mott, Harte, and Hall, for they have enriched my experience and confirmed my conviction that, in spite of the relentless struggle that is devastating mankind, the power of goodness remains unconquered and is able to accomplish works of salvation out of the depths of despair with ever new strength.

"In a most solemn hour I address you, for your departure signifies a new and ominous phase of this world war. Your native land, America, has broken off diplomatic relations with the land to which you have come to perform a service of humanitarian aid. You leave Germany at the moment when a new cloud rises on the distant horizon. That your work here will not be wholly abandoned and that Mr. Hoffman intends to remain on, causes me to rejoice greatly, for I see in these facts the finest possible expression of the ideal you represent in this world, worthy of the great Christian organization of which you are a part.

"You depart from Germany which, surrounded by enemies, is battling in the fiercest of struggles for its threatened existence. You have learned to know my fatherland in a time of suffering and trial, when all powers of the nation under greatest tension are striving after the same goal: to maintain national independence, to save all that is sacred and valuable to a German. Of those ideal values that Germany upholds in the world and that are esteemed by millions of your fellow-countrymen I will not speak to you now, for you have had to do war work in war times and this side of German life has presented itself more clearly to you. You have come to know a people which is bearing its sorrow and suffering with singular patience and self-denial, in a loyalty and fidelity to the fatherland that arises from conviction. You have been able to acquaint yourselves with those characteristics that impressed your great countryman, Emerson, when he visited Germany, and which the great Englishman, Carlyle, defended with convincing force against his own countrymen.

"You have fitted yourselves into the workings of the great organization that Germany has created for its more than 1,500,000 prisoners, an organization which, in spite of all that has been said by our enemies or is being said, is unquestionably the most wonderful and complete that the War has produced along these lines. You can bear witness to the fact that on the part of our War Ministry the will is present to make the lot of the prisoner, which under all circumstances is a sad one, a humane and bearable lot as far as in their power lies; and that the utmost is being done to maintain and improve the physical and mental well-being of the prisoners, so far as this can be achieved in view of their vast numbers and great diversity of nationality and race and under

the conditions under which Germany is at present forced to live. In the camps you have made the acquaintance of those who accepted and furthered with zeal and gladness the regulations that brought relief and joy to the prisoners. Misunderstandings and difficulties, which are never lacking in human affairs, you have accepted and overcome with praiseworthy patience and kindliness. The commandants you have found to be aids and willing furtherers of your work, and this work was a noble one. You have brought happiness and comfort wherever you came, and many edifices, churches, workshops, and libraries speak of your untiring diligence and the liberal supply of means put at your disposal by your organization.

"The words of thanks that I speak to you can be but a dim reflection of the joy and inward happiness with which you are filled; this I am able to read from the Christmas reports you have sent to me. Therefore I will be brief. But you can rest assured that this gratitude will live on in me, and that I shall always look back with satisfaction and not a little pride to the months in which I, as your protector, worked in union with you. That I, even without you, will pursue the aims that are yours, you will, as I surely may assume, never have doubted. Too highly do I esteem the cause of humanity, too clearly do I sense the suffering of imprisonment, to cease to serve them now. A number of most admirable organizations and personalities of conviction, as you know, are engaged in the same service.

"Remember me kindly and let us all cling to the conviction that, though the enmity of our countries may depress us, we ourselves can never personally be enemies. I am confident that far from us, too, you will bear witness to the truth as you have found it amongst us. You who represent the America of humanitarianism, brotherly love, and active philanthropy will bear witness to that Germany which you have learned to know and which our enemies do not want to know, that Germany which, though itself visited by sorrow and suffering, performs without hate humane acts, and respects and values body and soul of its prisoners because it finds in them suffering mortals crying out for sympathy and rescue.

"And now farewell. May you continue to bear with you to that place where the blessing of new duties will be your reward, the joy of those who are permitted to bring joy."

The German Government had provided a special train for the party, which was to be escorted to the Swiss frontier. With a special permit from the Foreign Office I was admitted to the railroad platform and thus was able to see our secretaries off, together with my wife and little girl. The train was provided

with sleeping and dining-car facilities and several German officials as escorts. The treatment accorded to the departing ones was most courteous throughout, including the censorship of the baggage of all members of the party not attached to the official diplomatic service of our Government. The baggage examination was unorganized and on the whole most superficial. The farewell at the station was quiet, impressive, and most serious. At the time few if any supposed war would follow. For me it was a most painful separation. Knowing the fate of British men and their families caught in Germany at the beginning of the War, we concluded it was best for Mrs. Hoffman and the baby to leave, especially as food conditions were seriously affecting the health of both. I was to remain until the work was fully reorganized and then to follow in three or four months. As has been said, General Friedrichs, head of the German War Department, had assured me of every possible protection and the right of departure at any time I desired. None the less, the future was dark and uncertain.

From what has been said of our being allowed to remain in Germany to continue our service to the Allied prisoners of war, it is apparent that, at this most critical time in the history of our work in Germany, its reciprocal nature stood us in good stead. It was the threatened suspension of the work for German prisoners which enabled us to persuade the officials to permit the continuance of our work and its reorganization in the light of the new conditions. The final agreement also permitted our camp correspondence with the prisoners of war to continue as heretofore. Naturally, all such correspondence received the closest of scrutiny from the camp censors and other censor authorities.

The privilege of camp visitation unfortunately was to be denied me as an American, now an enemy alien. The concession granted in the privilege to substitute neutral secretaries for the American secretaries was largely our salvation. At first our choice was to be limited to men of Danish citizenship, but the difficulty in securing adequate numbers of the right kind of men from Denmark, which we explained, finally enabled us to secure permission to choose our new secretaries from Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway.

Henceforth, our entire work was placed under even stricter supervision than before. On these terms it became necessary to reconstruct our entire work, which suffered seriously because of the difficulties in getting neutral secretaries who were qualified and, above all, acceptable to the German authorities. The latter had become most severe in the requirements they demanded of our prospective secretaries. Four weeks and more invariably passed before permission was granted to men whom we proposed as secretaries even to enter Germany; and after their arrival additional weeks passed before the necessary permits were issued by the War Ministry entitling these men to camp visitation and activities on behalf of the prisoners.

The growing food scarcity increased the difficulties, for now that I could no longer visit the prison camps, where I invariably had received a "hand-out" to supplement the food issued us on cards, I was dependent entirely upon the food issued on cards, which at this time was not over-abundant in Berlin. Thanks to two of our secretaries, who remained a month or two to assist in closing up the affairs of the different secretaries and in adjusting our work to the new conditions, I was not left entirely alone.

For several weeks all went well. Then new orders were issued which greatly hampered me. From the ranks of neutral aliens I was transferred to those of enemy aliens, and police regulations pertaining to the latter class were most rigid. The first order received was to the effect that I was to report at the police precinct twice a day. I was supposed to be in my room from eight at night until seven in the morning, and was not allowed to leave the city limits of Berlin. An appeal to the War Ministry for a more liberal interpretation of these regulations, especially in view of the fact that I was well known to the War Ministry and had proven myself dependable, resulted in the granting of my petition. Thereafter it was necessary for me to report but once a week to the police precinct and no restrictions as to the time when I was to be in my room were imposed. In addition, by a most tedious process of red tape I was granted permission to leave Berlin on fulfilling a special set of orders. These included a written request to the War Ministry for permission to leave Berlin, indicating my destination. Thereupon, after approval of the War Ministry, I had to report to the Berlin commandanture,



The British Social Club, Rembahn



French Theater, Königsbrück

the military police department of the city, where written permission was usually given on presentation of the approved request of the War Ministry; but before leaving the city it was further necessary to submit all papers to the local police precinct in which I lived and not until they had given proper certification could I leave the city.

On April 4, 1917, the anticipated declaration of war against Germany by America came. The army and navy authorities had prepared the public through the press for such a turn of events for a few weeks before the actual declaration. Constant statistical speculation had been appearing in the newspapers as to the possible resources, number of men, ships, and arms which would accrue to the Entente in the event of America's entry into the War. The papers frankly acknowledged that the resources would be large and a most important factor, but went on to explain that shipment across the Atlantic was becoming increasingly difficult in view of the growing effectiveness of the submarine blockade. It was estimated that at the prevailing rate of ship destruction by the submarines as compared with the rate of ship construction, England would be starved within six months. The papers spoke of America's threats as being largely bluff and went on to explain that it would take eighteen months at least before America could mobilize an army sufficiently large to change the balance of power, which at that time was in Germany's favor; furthermore, that, even with a large enough army, the greatest difficulties would be encountered when the attempt was made to transport it over the Atlantic to France, to say nothing of the insurmountable obstacles in the way of maintaining such a vast army so remote from its source of supplies. Careful data were given regarding the tonnage required for the shipment of adequate supplies for an American army in France, numbering one to three million men, and the arms and munitions essential to the equipment of such an army in order to make it an effective fighting factor at the front.

These were most elaborately discussed and the conclusion reached, in the papers at least, was that America had entered the War too late to have any effect on the result, which was soon to follow in the complete defeat of England, France, and Italy. That was in the spring of 1917 and most Germans at that time

still believed what was told them by the authorities. This explains the fact that even with the entry of America into the War there was little depression caused externally, for everyone seemed confident of victory.

None the less, while superficially the entry of America into the War seemed to cause little concern, there were many who from that time on began to doubt the righteousness of Germany's cause. This doubt continued to grow and was one of the factors resulting in the ultimate breakdown of the morale of the German people behind the lines. I heard any number of individuals discuss America's entry into the War as an evidence that something must be wrong with Germany's policies, for it did not seem to them possible for the entire world to go against Germany if her cause had been truly righteous and one entirely of self-preservation against England, France, and Russia, as had been invariably and consistently proclaimed.

After our entry into the War military and police regulations became increasingly stringent. That my correspondence was subjected to the closest of scrutiny was evident from the long delays before it was forwarded. On six different occasions I was visited by a secret service man from the Berlin police headquarters and requested to report at the latter for investigation and explanation of various letters or telegrams that had been sent or received by us. Thus, on one occasion a telegram had been sent by our office in Stockholm worded something as follows: "Russian secretaries desire information regarding number of secretaries in Germany." Obviously, when this telegram got into the hands of the German censor he sat up and took notice. In these personal examinations at the police headquarters it was necessary for me to give data regarding my entire life history as well as that of my parents. Then I was quizzed and cross-examined by two or three secret service men on the contents of the telegram or letter under investigation and the reasons therefor. My answers were all carefully noted in a formidable looking document. On conclusion of the investigation the entire document was reread to me and I was then required to add my signature. Fortunately, the papers I had from the head of the War Prisoners Department of the War Ministry served to free me from any serious difficulties in connection with these investigations.

When traveling it was necessary always to carry one's passport and other credentials, for not infrequently German secret service men passed through the trains and demanded such papers from each passenger. In the case of neutral or enemy aliens the scrutiny of the papers was most close. I never realized how closely I was being watched until the following incident occurred. In the course of one of my circuits to visit our different field secretaries in their territory I stopped off at the Bavarian town Würzburg, on what proved to be a Catholic Church holy day, when everyone was out celebrating. As customary, I made proper entry of my name, nationality, German address, and place from which I had come in the blank given me by the hotel clerk. I then went to the local police headquarters to report and to secure the certification of my passport there. The regular man in charge was taking advantage of the holiday and a substitute was filling his place. The latter stamped my passport properly and made his entry thereupon, but apparently neglected to make similar entry in the office records. I had forgotten entirely about my visit to Würzburg when, three months later in Berlin, I received a summons to report at the Berlin police headquarters. On appearing before the officer in charge I was confronted by the statement that I had been guilty of a most serious offense and was liable to immediate imprisonment. I expressed my surprise and asked wherein my guilt consisted, and was then informed that on such and such a day I had been at Würzburg and had neglected to report to the police headquarters. Fortunately, I had my passport with me and was able after considerable search to show him the entry of the police headquarters upon it. This satisfied the official, but I presume that the police authorities at Würzburg received proper reprimand for their carelessness.

On another occasion, and this occurred after we had been at war with Germany for several months, one of our neutral secretaries in an endeavor to secure a series of lantern slides for use in a camp told a merchant in charge that he was a representative of the Young Men's Christian Association War Prisoners' Aid, of which I, an American, was head. In order to secure the slides in question free, it was necessary for our secretary to furnish a letter of guarantee signed by me as head of the organization. At the time the neutral secretary called for this letter I was away,

and in order to save time he had the office force write the letter and he signed it personally, taking it back to the merchant. This at once aroused the suspicion of the merchant, for he could not understand why the head of the department had not signed the letter. The result was that he wrote to the War Ministry reporting the "mysterious" doings of our organization, which employed neutral and even enemy representatives. This letter went the rounds of the War Ministry and finally reached the War Prisoners Department, where it was subsequently shown me by one of the officers with whom I stood rather well. He went on to explain that it was a good indication of the risk that his department was taking in permitting me, an enemy alien, to remain, and assured me that had this letter gotten into the hands of some rabid Pan-Germanist a big investigation would have resulted, with grave consequences for General Friedrichs, the head of the War Prisoners Department. These instances are cited to reveal more clearly how precarious our position was.

Most amusing in connection with the regulation requiring all aliens to report at police headquarters whenever arriving in or leaving a town was the visit in some villages of the police officials on the morning of arrival. Invariably they made their appearance about breakfast time. During the course of conversation one was politely told to call at the police headquarters sometime during the day. Many of these individuals were the most seedy type of "country-jays" in the real sense of the word. Their visits made one feel as though they were really interested in one.

One heard much about the campaign against the use of foreign words in the German language. This was particularly intense in the early days of the War, but the more reasonable elements soon cautioned the people to moderation in this connection. Thus it happened that none of the streets in Berlin having foreign names, such as Paris Place, French Street, and the like, were changed. Furthermore, the French high school in Berlin was continued throughout the War. A notice which appeared in one of the papers is significant in this connection. It read as follows:

"Warning against blind fanaticism. 'It is herewith officially reported again that two foreigners from neutral countries were grievously insulted because of speaking French in one of the theaters. They could not understand each other in any other

way, for neither of them spoke the language of the other and neither understood German. Nothing in their conduct could have given the slightest cause for treating them in an unfriendly way. It is earnestly requested that blind fanaticism in this matter disappear and be done away with completely. We cannot expect that neutral foreigners out of respect for such over-sensitiveness should learn Swaheli.' It is really high time that an end should be made of giving offense to strangers who utilize the speech of any of the enemy countries because they cannot speak any other language. It is tru y unworthy of a world metropolis to call attention repeatedly to the lack of tact which is indicated in the above."

CHAPTER XII

THE DAY OF FOOD SUBSTITUTES

The food situation was bad, and had become increasingly so during the spring months of 1917, and as the summer of 1917 advanced, bringing with it a failure in the potato crop, he situation was greatly aggravated. The spring months, May, June, and July, before the new crops were harvested, invariably proved the most trying from the standpoint of food conditions for the people in the large cities and industrial centers. In the spring of 1917 the bread ration was reduced to approximately three pounds of bread a week per person. Obviously that would be sufficient, provided one had other supplementary foods, but the latter were missing almost entirely. It is true one was supposed to receive five pounds of potatoes a week and a pound of meat, but one was not always sure of this supply in view of the difficulties of transportation and the like. In addition, practically no fruits and vegetables were available. Milk and butter could not be had aside from the minimal quantities issued on the card, and with only one pound of sugar a month and one egg every three weeks there was little available food.

In April, 1917, a demonstration of factory laborers occurred as a protest against the reduced bread ration, which began April 16th. The demonstration fell flat absolutely. The city authorities had taken precautionary measures and had doubled the police force. The military guard had been called out and every other precaution taken, but there was little necessity for such action. Thousands of people were in the streets, but everything was most peaceful. The masses seemed to lack proper leadership at the time to make their threats sufficiently felt in government circles to occasion a compromise or a granting of their demands.

One spoke of the late summer and early winter of 1917 as the "turnip year," for the failure of the potato crop, the main subsistence of the German people during the last two years of the War, made it necessary to utilize turnips in their place. Turnip soup, turnip vegetables, turnip salad, turnip dessert, turnip in

the bread, turnip jam, and even turnip in coffee, comprised the bulk and variety of our diet during those months. It was during the summer of this year that the various food rations were still further reduced. Butter ration per person per week was down to two ounces; in addition, three ounces of a fish oil margarin were issued to each person in an effort to bring up the fat ration. Absolutely no milk for persons above four years of age unless by special request of an attending physician; five to eight ounces of meat a week, including the bone; every two weeks about three and one half ounces of oatmeal or cream of wheat; once a month a pound of coarse barley and a pound of sugar; three and one half to four pounds of black bread a week—these made up the food issued to the German people during these months. Rice, coffee, tea, cocoa—in fact all imported foods—were unknown at this time. The further details given in Mrs. Hoffman's account of her experiences (Appendix II) will serve to demonstrate the effectiveness of the British blockade of the German people.

In the early spring of 1917 fruits such as cherries and strawberries were on the market, but at high prices. The municipal government of Berlin, in an attempt to control prices, established a maximum price for these commodities. The result was that, within twenty-four hours after this order became known, all fruit disappeared from the market. The producer preferred to withhold the fruit, knowing full well that the city people would sooner or later come out to him and, in an effort to get sufficient supplies of the fruits in question, would foolishly overbid one another. This actually happened, with the result that prices soared sky high. This practice, having proved so effective and profitable for the producer, was immediately extended by him to other commodities such as butter, eggs, meat, potatoes, and the like. The prices paid were so high that the poorer people were unable to compete as purchasers and for them food conditions became increasingly bad.

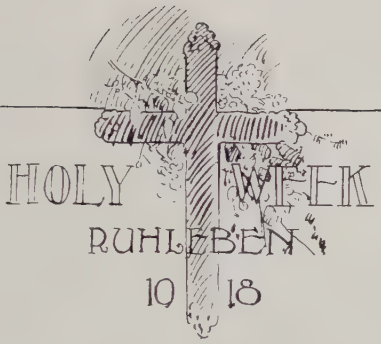
One was forced to live the simple life: In the morning we had one or two slices of bread at the most and a brew called coffee, but which contained anything else but coffee; at noon two or three sandwiches; and in the evening dinner, usually made in the form of a vegetable stew comprised of potatoes, turnips, carrots, and the like. At the time I was taking my meals in one of

the pensions so common in the large cities, but even here we were frequently informed by the hostess that she could not give us dinner that day for lack of supplies, with the result that we were compelled to hunt up some restaurant, most frequently a vegetarian one.

Feeling toward the rich, who were able to have everything which could be produced in Germany in the way of food, grew intense and resulted in the spring strikes and food riots about which so much was written in the American papers. None of these in reality was serious, and all were very quickly quelled. During the principal strike of these months it was significant that the boulevard cafés and restaurants kept open house, but behind drawn shades, so as not to arouse violence on the part of the passing poor, who would otherwise see the rich patron sip his cup of tea or coffee, both substitute products, and partake of fine-looking cake, which in reality was most unpalatable, being made largely of substitute ingredients.

It was the day of substitutes. During the War it is estimated that some 10,000 substitutes were put on the market. For coffee, acorns were extensively used and every imaginable foliage was utilized in the preparation of tea. Raspberry leaves, blackberry leaves, strawberry leaves, the blossoms of the linden tree, dried apple skins, all furnished materials used as substitutes for tea. Other leaves and foliage were gathered by the men for the manufacture of tobacco, which had also become very scarce in Germany. During the years of the War we were witness of the bread lines, the butter lines, the sugar lines, the coffee lines, the shoe lines, in which the majority of the people were women, and in the last half of the year the tobacco lines, where men by the hundreds stood in line simply to secure two or three cigars or a half dozen cigarettes as their weekly ration. I have often counted 200 men standing in one such line in front of a tobacco shop.

It was during these months that my food reserves were reduced to *nil*, with the result that I, too, had to go into the market and compete with other buyers in the hope of getting a few supplementary luxuries. Thus it was that I paid at this time a dollar and a half for a pound of rice, and five and six dollars for a pound of butter. Geese, one of the delicacies from the standpoint of the German palate, were selling for as high as fifty dollars; and meat



PRINCIPAL OBSERVANCES

Palm Sunday. March 24TH at 3.30 P.M. *Evening Prayer*
Preacher: The Rev. H.M. Williams

Wednesday, before Easter. March 27TH at 6 P.M. Performance of "*Mary Magdalen*" a Drama by Maurice Maeterlinck.

Thursday. " " March 28TH Performance of "*Mary Magdalen*"

Good Friday. March 29TH at 3 P.M. *Evening Prayer*
Preacher: The Rev. H.M. Williams
" " at 6 P.M. Performance of "*Mary Magdalen*"

Easter Even. March 30TH *The Ruhleben Horticultural Society's Spring Flower Show*
" at 6.30 P.M. *Lantern Service*
Subject: The Passion of Christ
Speaker, Mr C. Duncan-Jones
" at 8 P.M. *Evening Prayer*
in the Platform Room

Easter Day. March 31ST at 8.30 A.M. *Holy Communion*
" at 9.30 A.M. *High Mass & Sermon*
at 3.30 P.M. *Evening Prayer*
Preacher: Mr. A. J. Kemp

PROGRAM FOR HOLY WEEK, RUHLEBEN

—beef, goat meat, and the like—sold underhand, cost from one to two dollars a pound. Goat meat sausage, chicken liver sausage, and rabbit meat sausage, were displayed in the windows of the delicatessen shops at prices ranging from a dollar and a half to three dollars a pound, depending upon the constituents employed in their manufacture.

The store windows of the food shops presented a strange appearance in their emptiness. In some windows packages in which various foods had formerly come were on display, but small signs invariably informed the sight-seers that the said parcels were empty. In the larger grocery store windows mushrooms at two and three dollars a pound, the sausage above referred to, and other similar food supplies were on display. Invariably crowds of people would gather in front of such windows and longingly look in at the food thus shown, commenting on the prices, and then turn away regretfully, for they did not have the wherewithal to buy the food so invitingly displayed.

One of the most interesting advertisements which I saw during those days was in the restaurant of Wertheim's store, a large department store of Berlin. The announcement was made that bread could be obtained there without the regulation food cards, but in small print the advertisement explained that the bread thus obtainable contained no oat, rye, wheat, or corn flour. One wondered of what it could be made and on inquiry learned that its chief ingredients were pulverized straw and potatoes.

The following copy of "The Ten War Commandments" issued early in 1916 is significant. Very soon even these recommendations to economize were useless, for the supplies in question were entirely exhausted.

The Ten War Commandments

1. Do not eat more than necessary. Avoid eating between meals; thereby you will help promote your health.

2. Regard bread as holy and use each individual piece of bread as human food. Dried bread crusts can be used to make a palatable and nourishing soup.

3. Be economical in the use of butters and fats. Substitute syrup, jam, or marmalade for butter in making sandwiches. A large part of all fats were formerly imported from foreign countries.

4. Use extensively both milk and cheese, not forgetting skimmed milk and buttermilk.

5. Utilize abundant sugar in desserts, for sugar is an excellent food.

6. Cook potatoes with their jackets. Thereby you save twenty per cent of their substance.

7. Decrease your requirements for beer and other alcoholic drinks. Thereby you will increase our grain and potato supply, out of which beer and alcohol are made.

8. Eat plenty of vegetables and fruit and use every bit of tillable ground for growing vegetables. However, save canned goods as long as fresh vegetables are to be had.

9. Collect all kitchen refuse no longer suitable for human food, to be used for cattle food, but be scrupulously careful that no poisonous substances are included in the waste.

10. Cook and heat with gas or coke. Thereby you help to create an important fertilizer, for in the manufacture of gas and coke nitrogenous ammonia as well as other important by-products are produced.

Note, that in the observation of all these commandments you are saving for the Fatherland. Therefore those persons must also observe these commandments whose finances permit them still to live as in the past.

The quality of beer had gradually become inferior and the supply greatly reduced; in April, 1917, I saw the first sign displayed in one of the large beer cafés to the effect that the place was closed because of the lack of beer. During the next few months many other similar cafés had to close their doors. In 1918 good beer was rarely to be had. A café that succeeded in getting a supply would advertise the fact, with the result that hours before the time announced for tapping the beer crowds of people had gathered in order to get a sip and possibly a glass before the limited supply was exhausted.

With the exception of the large cities, the great reduction in both the variety and amount of food available had a most wholesome effect on the German constitution, and many remarked that they were feeling far better than ever before. It must be understood, however, that this did not apply to the poorer people in the large cities like Berlin, who had always lived on rather limited supplies and whose phys que and constitution could not endure for any length of time the greatly reduced rations which the War brought with it as a result of the blockade.

With the growing scarcity of food it was obvious that the

children of the poorer people suffered intensely. Medical statistics on the death rate and the spread of tuberculosis revealed that the death-dealing influence of the blockade was assuming alarming proportions among the children and the aged. Everything possible was done to save the lives of the children Very soon regulations were enforced which confined the distribution of milk to children four years and under in age. True, the quantity received was only a pint of skimmed milk a day, far from sufficient for a growing youngster. One of the most drastic measures of the peace terms is the requirement that Germany surrender 140,000 milch cows; especially when one recognizes that the infant mortality in the large cities has increased sixty per cent and more over the normal death rate. Some prominent medical authority made the statement that the continuation of the blockade would undermine for all time the lives of the German children. This has actually occurred, and many of them face death before their eighteenth year as a result of the blockade. To request the number of cows mentioned above means complete starvation so far as milk is concerned.

During the summers of 1916 and 1917 and again, but to a much more limited extent, in 1918, the city of Berlin made arrangements with farmers throughout the empire to board city children. In 1917 some 60,000 children from Berlin were thus sent out into the country for recuperation. This was one of the biggest pieces of social service work done during the War, and one of the most needed. A visit to the east side of Berlin will soon reveal to the observant and knowing person how frightfully the blockade has affected these innocent children. The sad, hungry look in their eyes, their lack of vivacious enthusiasm, their anemic appearance, their rickety bowlegs, tell the story better than words. Christian peoples of the world should consider these children along with those of Belgium and France and Armenia, as victims of the War.

The War led to an alarming recrudescence of tuberculosis in Germany; pre-war statistics indicated a marked and growing decrease in the death rate due to this disease, but since 1916 there has been a most alarming increase reinstating tuberculosis as the white plague indeed.

Coal was unusually scarce at this time. Many a day in 1917 we had to close down at the office because we had no fuel. The

question of shutting off the gas supply during certain hours of the day was also broached at this time, and later regulations were actually adopted whereby gas was shut off for several hours each day. It was customary in Germany for the front house door of the large apartment buildings to remain unlocked until ten o'clock at night, with lights burning in the hallways. To save light a regulation was enforced whereby all houses were locked at nine and lights out at that time. During the last few months of 1917 regulations were enforced limiting the hot water service in the large apartment houses and municipal baths to three days of the week, usually Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, in an attempt to save coal and gas still further.

Efforts were made to reduce railroad traffic to conserve the fuel supply, by prohibiting the sale of tickets in advance and by greatly reducing the train schedules. Supposedly more tickets were sold than there were seats available. The result was undue congestion at all the railway ticket offices and traveling became a most difficult matter throughout Germany. The greatly reduced schedule meant overcrowded trains, and even an increased tariff had little effect in minimizing traffic. In many cases it was necessary for the prospective passenger to secure a special permit from the police authorities on the ground that his traveling was urgent, before he could purchase a ticket.

In the fall of 1917 the heating of trains and cars was discontinued. Similarly the illumination of the cars was reduced to a minimum. Many of the Berlin suburban trains were in total darkness, so that one had to grope his way into the coupes or compartments in order to find a seat.

Rolling stock had deteriorated seriously; lack of proper lubricating oils resulted in numerous hot boxes. On several occasions the passengers were compelled to dismount during the middle of the night, in order that the car with the hot boxes could be unhitched and left on the side track as the rest of the train proceeded on its trip. Time and again long delays resulted because of the breakdown of the engine, necessitating the bringing of a new engine from considerable distances to continue the run.

The increasing shortage of food and clothing in Germany had dire consequences for the prisoners of war who were dependent upon the Germans for their food. The Russians, Serbians, and

Roumanians suffered most, and increasing difficulties for our work resulted.

It was not easy to enter a camp to confer with the committee in charge, bringing recommendations that they organize schools and the like, and to be confronted by their reply, "Bring us bread and then we will organize the activities you propose." Everything possible was done to secure supplies locally, as well as from the neutral countries, and most emphatic appeals were sent out to those in power that supplies be provided if we were to avert catastrophe. It has been stated that in the earlier years our organization made an effort to supply food parcels for individual prisoners of war who were referred to us by our field secretaries as specially in need. In this way some 10,000 to 30,000 prisoners of war were taken care of each month; but with 1,500,000 in need of assistance one readily appreciates how insignificant and utterly inadequate our relief proved to be. Through the efforts of Her Royal Highness, the Crown Princess of Sweden, considerable quantities of cod-liver oil were received, which proved tremendously helpful to the invalid prisoners and especially those weak from starvation. One of our secretaries visited a hospital in eastern Germany, where he found from 600 to 700 full-grown men lying listlessly on their beds, too weak to do anything else, not one of whom weighed much over seventy-five pounds. In camps of this character ten to forty men died a day. We did our utmost to secure permission to buy food in the neutral countries for men of this type and such others as were in need; but unfortunately orders from the Allied countries prohibited such purchase and importation. It was argued that to provide these Russians with food served to increase their capacity for work and therefore feeding them would aid the Germans. Such are the relentless and cruel exigencies of war.

Our position was rendered all the more difficult when the different Russian relief committees begged and implored us to provide food for them, even agreeing to pay for it. It must be remembered that many of the Russians had been working and had saved their earnings, for there was no way in which to spend money. We had entered into negotiations with the German authorities, as well as with the Danish authorities through our Danish office, and had succeeded after much effort in securing all

necessary permits for the purchase of food in neutral countries and for its shipment directly to the prison camps, with the proviso that the prisoners would pay for this food. Everything seemed arranged and we issued our letter to the Russian relief committees, telling them that we were prepared to assist them in securing food supplies so far as they were available. Orders were immediately received. Thus the Russians of one camp alone requested 80,000 marks worth of food a month, for which they agreed to pay. However, after we had forwarded these requests to our Copenhagen office, additional orders issued by the Allies put an end to the entire project, with the result that we had to refund the money paid in to us by the prisoners and in deep humiliation acknowledge that we had failed. One need not speak of the despair which this produced among the Russians concerned.

Conditions in the hospitals due to scarcity of medical supplies, bandages, and the like, were becoming most aggravating. In an effort to render aid we were fortunate again in securing the help of Her Royal Highness, the Crown Princess of Sweden, who kindly sent us scores of medicine chests which were distributed in camps and hospitals where they were most needed. One of our secretaries purchased a flock of chickens and secured permission from the German authorities for a group of the prisoners to care for them; in this way he succeeded in providing a limited supply of eggs for the convalescents. But here again we were compelled to resort to much red tape in order to secure the permission required, for it must be remembered that chickens were becoming scarce in Germany. It was largely due to the scarcity of hens that we were restricted to one egg per person every three weeks. One of the government measures required that each farmer must surrender to the authorities a certain percentage of the eggs produced on his farm. Obviously the Germans did not wish the supply of chickens to be transferred to the prison camps, to supply the prisoners rather than the German populace.

CHAPTER XIII

CAMPS IN EAST AND WEST PRUSSIA

Camp Darmstadt has been described and the statement made that most of the German camps were similarly organized. Such, however, was not the case, as an extensive trip through east and west Prussia visiting a number of the camps revealed. On this trip the following camps were visited: Danzig, Czersh, Tuchel, Hammerstein, Buetow, Schneidemuehl, Stargard, and Altdamm. Most of these camps revealed organization and equipment far inferior to the camps in western and southern Germany, such as Darmstadt, Giessen, and the like. In many of these camps I arrived unannounced, thus preventing the possibility of getting the camp into a dress parade condition for my visit.

In a similar manner camps in Bavaria, Saxony, and northern and western Germany were visited. In some of these the hospital barracks were not as good as those at Darmstadt. Some camps contained more provision for athletics, schools, theatricals, and the like than others. In the three camps about Münster in Westphalia the general arrangement was that of a large quadrangle, the barracks forming one continuous perimeter of housing facilities about the quadrangle. Friedrichsfelde, up near the Holland frontier, was one of the best organized and equipped camps I saw. Most of the officers' camps were either in garrisons, old castles, or forts. At Crefeld, Bischofswerda, and Heidelberg, German officers' garrisons were utilized. At Guetersloh a newly built provincial hospital was used to house some 1,200 Russian officers. In the case of Beeskow, Torgau, Mayence, old forts had been adapted to accommodate the officers. In Koenigstein and Plassenburg old castles were utilized and at Villingen, where American officers were later interned, as well as at Burg, near Magdeburg, wooden barracks similar to those in most of the privates' camps were used.

The camps in east and west Prussia, however, possessed comparatively few barracks. In all of them semi-dugouts served as

human habitations, chiefly for the hordes of Russian prisoners taken during the big advance of the Germans into Russia. It will be pointed out later that the first American doughboys captured by the Germans were housed in Camp Tuchel, so that a more or less detailed description of the quarters will be of interest. The barracks, better named underground hovels, had just enough above ground to escape being called dugouts. They were long, narrow affairs, the men sleeping on each side of the long central aisle, head toward the aisle, feet toward the side walls. There was little room for anything else, and in winter, so I was told, when the heavy snows of this region alternately thawed and froze, the interiors of these dugouts were bitterly cold and damp, resulting in much sickness among those forced to live in them. It is true that the German authorities provided a large barrack as an assembly hall in these camps; but with from 10,000 to 30,000 prisoners in each it is needless to say that the assembly hall furnished proved entirely inadequate for the men.

While in camp Czersh I was the witness of a most tragic procession. Two Russian prisoners were being brought to the hospitals on stretchers carried by their companions. The patients lay practically lifeless, the vapor of their breath being the only evidence that they were alive. On inquiry I learned that they were suffering from pneumonia, that there were daily many such unfortunate victims brought to the hospital, and that many died. Malnutrition, coupled with the cold and dampness of their habitations, was making big inroads on their numbers. The sight was pitiable in the extreme. It was horrible in its awful sadness, for human life seemed so very cheap. The cold winter day, with the small hillocks covered with snow, representing the dugouts, and a dark, heavy sky, all emphasized the tragic loneliness and desolation of the scene.

In the camp cemetery many crosses pointing skyward mutely told the story of the suffering of the men who had died in this camp. More than ever the men in camps of this character needed someone who would be friend and companion, for they were friendless and forsaken ones. The principle of German discipline and supervision eliminated the heart-throb of relationship between men, and the Russian after all is a mere child who thrives almost more on love and friendship than on food; nothing is more

Kriegsministerium.

Kriegsgefangenenschutz

Nr. 1397/12. 18. U 5/4.

Bei Beantwortung wird ersucht, Datum und Nr. dieses Schreibens anzugeben.

Berlin, den 14. 12. 1918.

Fernsprecher: Zentrum 6900—6927.
Fernverkehr: Zentrum 14103—14179

Ausweis.



Amerikanischer Staatsangehöriger Konrad Hoffmann reist im Auftrage des Kriegsministeriums zur Regelung äusserst dringender Fragen der Gefangenenfürsorge über München und Lindau nach der Schweiz und zurück. Die zuständigen Eisenbahn- und Militärbehörden werden gebeten, Herrn Hoffmann die erforderlichen Fahrscheine zu erteilen und ihm jeden Beistand zu gewähren. Die Grenzüberwachungsstellen werden ersucht, ihm jede zulässige Erleichterung zu gewähren.

Im Auftrage

Letter of Recommendation

Issued by the German Revolutionary War Ministry. Note that the German eagle has been crossed out by pencil mark.

depressing to him than the realization that his superior has little or no regard for his welfare. True, in most camps one or more of the German representatives gave evidence of a human heart, and such men were truly loved by the big Russian, boy as he is. I recall one of the German doctors who thus showed compassion and sympathy for the prisoners in his charge. Any number of Russians requested to have their pictures taken arm and arm with this German doctor.

Hammerstein was one of the biggest camps in this section and had facilities to accommodate some 50,000 prisoners of war, although at one time they had as high as 65,000 men in the camp. This camp was far more attractive than the others in the section, although it, too, had one compound made up of underground hovels. It was divided into a number of compounds, each segregated from the other. As we passed from one compound to another we found some entertainment going on in each—in one a concert, in another theatricals, both well attended. Everything was spick and span here; the men were clean, looked comparatively well, and, especially at the entertainments, seemed to be in the best of spirits. I attributed the far brighter atmosphere which prevailed in this camp to the fact that the German officers in charge were more humane and sympathetic than those found in the other camps. At the time of my visit there were approximately 12,000 men in the camp, although, as stated above, there had at one time been as high as 65,000. In such a camp, with special compounds segregated from one another, it was most difficult for us to carry on our work; nevertheless, there was much that could be done. This was all the more true at Hammerstein, for a large number of Russian doctors and students were available to lead any classes that might be organized. The camp contained 4,000 Ukrainians, who were being concentrated there for transfer to a special propaganda camp. Here, too, one found many German Russians, most of whom were Protestant, belonging to the Mennonite faith. Devout, sincere, and patient, they formed an interesting and inspiring group.

At Danzig the prisoners of war lived in the canal boats and one or two of the larger freight steamers which had been captured by the Germans. The kitchen, canteen, hospital, and theater were on shore and to these the men had access during the day.

The canal boat as an habitation for prisoners left much to be desired, especially from a sanitary standpoint. In most cases old coal barges had simply been covered with a sloping roof, and in the hull of the barge beds or bunks were erected to serve as sleeping quarters. Here, too, the men were troubled with the cold and dampness. One of the most appreciated things later done here was to provide the hospital with instruments by means of which convalescent patients could limber up the joints that had become stiff through long disuse.

On completing my trip to this section I felt deeply the need of loving, sympathetic patience and the friendship of a consecrated Christian man to work among these men, who impressed me more than ever as being mere ignorant children. Personally I would have liked to go to these camps and serve the men there. We were fortunate some time later in securing a good secretary for these camps. He rendered invaluable service, for there were no camps where such help was more needed.

Numerous attempts were made by prisoners of war to smuggle news home to the loved ones by the use of special codes, invisible writing, and the like. In Germany the Allied prisoners used such substances as sugar water, onion juice, and diluted condensed milk for their invisible writing. These became visible on heating the paper. Evidently the German censors became aware of these attempts and subsequently all prisoner-of-war mail was subjected to a heating process in order to reveal any attempt at invisible writing. In other cases a chemical substance was utilized, which was supposed to reveal concealed writing of any character.

One of the most clever attempts to get past the censor was a post card written by a German prisoner to his relatives in Germany. Recognizing that it was not in the writer's usual free and easy style, they proceeded to study the message carefully, finally discovering that they were to read only every other line. The message so secured was the exact counterpart of the entire message as written. It is quoted herewith:

"Dear Parents:

Your card of May 21st and the postal money orders have been received. Here in Nickolsk-Ussuriski food is very, very much the main thing. We receive bread and soup so that our condition is not Bad. The soup is served at noon and again at 6 p. m., and is

Quickly eaten. Thirst we quench with tea. Ordinarily we drink
Pure water. All winter in the cold damp
Days we suffered less from thirst than now during the heat. In the
Rooms on cold bunks and minus blankets and mattresses we must sleep
In order to be tolerably cool. Soon the summer heat will come to an end.
Otherwise I am well.

Hearty greetings."

The above translation, in spite of its stiffness, is sufficiently clear to show the difference between the message as a whole and that part which is underlined, which the prisoner wished to convey to his parents.

The following quoted from the report of one of the secretaries illustrates the impressions received on camp visits:

"January 10, 1917. Magdeburg Officers' Camp has the advantage of being in the midst of city activity, which it must interest the men to watch. The rooms are good and warm, but, according to the opinion of several officers, a bit too large. The theater seems greatly appreciated and also the tennis court, which at the time of my visit was being flooded to make an ice-skating rink. Several officers expressed a desire for some little barrack or work-room, where handicraft articles could be made without disturbing others and where perhaps some educational classes could be held.

"January 11, 1917. Burg is well laid out as an officers' camp, accommodating 800 men. An admirably large amount of space is available for exercise and sports. The 6,000 mark kinetoscope, the theater, and the chapel are fine features of the camp life. I was also glad to note the commissary commission elected from among the interned officers to manage the kitchen.

"January 12, 1917. Altengrabow's individual bedsteads greatly impressed me. Throughout the soldiers' camps of the Fourth Army Corps, I noticed a general effort to avoid two and three deck bunks. In this camp there is ample room for exercise and tennis courts are also provided. The French and English committees send books from the camp library to the working commandos.

"January 13, 1917. Halle is called a 'reprisal' camp for French officers, but it was not nearly as bad as I had been led to expect. The barracks are warm, but the large rooms make personal privacy exceedingly difficult. In the large dining hall a temporary stage was being erected for theatrical performances. A little barrack is set aside for school purposes.

"January 13, 1917. Merseburg is well located on a knoll. It has never had any serious illness among its men. The folding

bedsteads require more floor space than the built-in bed, but are much more desirable. A cook house for each company makes it possible for the men to cook the contents of their parcels. Coal is furnished free and light until nine P. M. The wash-house for each company has running hot water. But the most favorable impression carried from this camp is its system of having each man receive and open his own parcels.

"January 15, 1917. Fort Zinna, Torgau. 'For twenty months we have not had the slightest reason to complain against the German officers of this camp,' said the French General to me. 'We only wish some better way of examining and delivering tinned goods and parcels could be devised. It is so unbecoming for an officer to stand in line with a soup bowl waiting his turn at the pleasure of a German "*unteroffizier*" (non-commissioned officer). But this examination is a general order, so we find no fault with our camp commander in the matter. These officers are true gentlemen.'

"January 15, 1917. Fort Bruckenkopf, Torgau, has made special effort to provide small individual rooms. Good provision is made for church, school, theater, and exercise. The gardens in summer must be very attractive.

"January 16, 1917. Wittenberg's famous church and castle I found artistically engraved upon a bone napkin ring by a French soldier. Surely these historic surroundings must have a good effect upon the thoughtful men. The mail censor's office was admirably arranged. The information offices where prisoners of war can come to an interpreter for any kind of advice or information impressed me most favorably. In several other camps I have been told by the men that they felt they had no easy road of approach to the German authorities. This plan at Wittenberg aims to avoid such a feeling. The postal card used by Russians here is also a splendid idea.

"January 18, 1917. Stendal's kitchen 'commission,' its big library for the Frenchmen, and the extra field for sports impressed me. The men were enthusiastic over the concerts which they are allowed to carry on among themselves. An additional fine point is the health record.

"January 19, 1917. Quedlinburg has a fine orchestra under the leadership of an active *Chef de Musique,* an interest in the organization of a school was also manifested. Individual cooking is here allowed in the specially provided barrack cook-house until seven P. M. The camp bakery is the finest I have seen in any camp.

"January 20, 1917. Zerbst has a number of the good features already noticed in other camps, but the fine spirit of its Russian

physicians and the attractive appearance of its Russian priest made a distinct impression on me. It was quite appropriate that Zerbst should represent my last brief camp visit.

"I think I am safe in saying that the two following expressions are typical of a general spirit:

"1. A German camp commander: 'Your visit brings a most welcome break into the lives of these officers. It also makes them feel that they are not forgotten. Don't think you can come too often nor that your visit is ever valueless.'

"2. An English Sergeant-Major: 'I have been looking forward to your coming with keen anticipation and I wish I could make you understand just how much it has meant to me personally to have had you visit us.' He had followed me to the very limit of his compound to bid me good-by and to beg for an early return. No wonder I enjoy this work.

"The first outstanding impression from this series of visits is the courtesy and hospitality of the German officers and their staffs. It seemed so genuine. Also with few exceptions the men in authority gave evidence of a heart interest in their prisoners of war. They give more of themselves to their men than mere duty requires. This is also true of the camp interpreters. In some cases I have observed interpreters and camp censors working through their noon rest period and on into the night, in order to give promptly to their prisoners of war their increasing incoming mail."

The following is quoted from another secretary's report:

"To my great satisfaction I am able to begin this report with the news that I have received permission to visit *Arbeitskommandos*, that is, all commandos where more than twenty men are employed. I have already visited a small number of these and, as far as I can see, our work there will be, first, to ascertain what things may be presented to the prisoners, such as books, musical instruments, writing material, and games; and, second, to endeavor to establish as close a connection as possible between the various commandos and the head committees of the camps, so that the men may have the full benefit of the libraries in the camps in question. Further, I hope that I may receive permission when visiting the *Arbeitskommandos* to take a magic lantern with me and show the prisoners pictures. Perhaps it may also be possible to arrange for a phonograph to be sent from commando to commando, so as to provide occasional concerts.

"I have found in the inspection of the camps in Saxony the greatest readiness to make arrangements for movie performances, that is, in working detachments with over 100 men. In some of

the larger detachments it has already been agreed that the prisoners be taken to the local movie, where they may have their own performances. In some of these commandos the German guards as well as the German laborers have their performances after those of the prisoners. The prisoners pay an admission of thirty pfennigs (seven and one half cents) and are generally very much interested in the performance, as well as in the walk to the kino and back. I know of a very large *Arbeitskommando*, a mine, where the time for the kino performances is taken from the regular working hours. In one camp the *Kommandantur* is of the opinion that it is not advisable to arrange for more entertainment in the home camp than in the working detachments. I have therefore suggested that an orchestra be formed in the camp, which may be permitted to visit the larger commandos for the purpose of giving concerts. The *Kommandantur* has promised to consider this matter and I hope that before the Russian Easter the orchestra may begin its concert tours."

It should be stated that prior to our activity in the working detachments several camp commanders discouraged our camp activities, on the plea that the promotion of too many entertainment features in the present camps would create dissatisfaction among the men on working detachments deprived of such privileges; urther, that it would discourage desire on the part of the men in the camps to go out on working detachments.

It is of interest to note the different desires and requests of tne prisoners. Among the ordinary Russians the chief desire naturally was for food. True, many were anxious to secure the icon for use in their personal devotions. In the early days of war prison history in Germany one of our secretaries asked the British Tommies for a list of the things which they wanted most. These men had just come from the front, had not yet had time to receive food parcels from home, and up to date had had no letters from home. The list received was the following: Hair-cutting scissors, razors, razor strops, shaving soap, shaving brushes, hair brushes, combs, clothing brushes, toilet soap, laundry soap, boot brushes—all articles for the maintenance of personal cleanliness. These were the things that these British Tommies wanted most at a time when one would have thought desire for food would be uppermost.

The demand for musical instruments continued to grow throughout the course of our work. Apparently "music hath charms"

even in a prison camp, and from all our observations one may conclude that it was one of the most important factors in maintaining the morale of the prisoners. This morale was truly marvelous, even though one realized that the attempt to be cheerful caused the men much effort. At Doeberitz the camp motto, "Always merry and bright," was chosen and the men truly lived up to it.

To meet the need for music we were fortunate in having an arrangement with one of the large music firms in Leipzig whereby it was possible to secure practically all the instruments required. Mouth-organs and harmonicas were popular among the Russians and were supplied in large numbers by us. During 1917 we promoted the use of phonographs in camps and especially in the working detachments, as well as in the hospitals, and in order to give the maximun change of program arranged for a large series of sets of twenty phonograph records each, to be exchanged from time to time. The plan was to allow each camp or group to return its series of records at the end of a month and to receive from headquarters a new series. Thus each camp received every month from ten to twenty new records. Similarly, arrangements were made by one of the secretaries for a regular exchange of musical compositions in the camps of his territory, so that the camp orchestra had a large repertoire of selections for the concerts and other occasions where it played.

At the Burg officers' camp I was present on the arrival of a soldier who had recently been captured at the Somme and had been sent to this officers' camp to serve as orderly to one of the officers. It was most amusing to see the generals and other high officers long imprisoned asking the orderly for his opinion with reference to the future and the outcome of the War, because he had the most recent information on the situation. In this same camp fourteen attempts to escape by tunneling had been made. One tunnel was fifty-eight meters, or 174 feet, long before it was discovered by the German authorities and the attempted escape frustrated.

In several cases consideration for the most needy prisoners resulted in a fine spirit of helpfulness. Thus at Camp Dyrotz the British prisoners contributed from their parcel supplies a large quantity of food which on Christmas day was distributed among

the far more needy Russian prisoners of the camp. This unexpected show of generosity was met by the tearful gratitude of the Russians who benefited thereby. In another camp at our suggestion some 600 pairs of socks were contributed and turned over to us for distribution among Serbian prisoners. The most striking instance of such a sacrificial spirit is that of a Russian student in one of the camps, who denied himself his scanty supper in order to give the portion thus saved to some hungrier comrade. The student in question was himself suffering from malnutrition and yet made this sacrifice on behalf of his fellow-prisoners.

In Camp Doeberitz regulations were frequently made more severe as a punishment for the attempted escape of several of the prisoners, the entire camp being made to suffer the penalty for the offense of a few. The penalty imposed was usually in the form of restriction of various entertainment features in the camp. Thus an order was issued that all lights were to be off throughout the month of February, 1916. One of the British Tommies very dryly remarked that it certainly was the irony of fate that the February in question should have twenty-nine days, which meant one more day of darkness than would have been the case any other normal year.

The following poem will best serve to illustrate the spirit of many of the prisoners of war. It was composed by one of the prisoners and put to music by the director of the men's chorus. To hear thirty to forty well-trained voices sing this song in the prison camp and realize that the men singing it were thus expressing their own thought left a deep impression upon the listener.

HARVEST, 1915

Thou, Who hast set apart the souls
Of those within these prison walls,
Shielding them from blood and death,
Make us wise with every breath.
Held immune from mortal strife,
See Thy disciples, Lord of Life.

Hostages of England, we
With trembling spirits do foresee
How England's spirit, England's name,
Look to us to lift her fame.
Here we found it in the dust,
Let us raise it as the Host.



French Types



Arrival in Camp of French and British Prisoners

Hostages of Heaven as well,
We the future may foretell,
How by us the time to come
Deeply shall be worked upon
Brothers now in dim retreat,
Live to make that story sweet.

Lord, Thy furrow now is ploughed
By a share that drippeth blood.
We with souls that often bleed
Germinate the future seed,
Till as sowers forth we go
All the ravaged earth to sow.

Every night the sun goes down
On a vast reverberate groan.
Every day it rises up
May our spirits humbler stoop,
Knowing finer souls than we
Now understand Eternity.

For lofty spirits every day
From this ember drift away,
Spent in total sacrifice;
Human and divine they rise
Leaving widowed Earth bereft,
They are taken, we are left.

We are left. Behold us, Lord,
Vessels of Thy mystic Word,
Fashioning our souls in pain,
Let us suffer not in vain;
Flawless be our conscious mold
Chalices of beaten gold.

Thousands yield their precious breath
To the bleak accountant, Death,
Since naught else of theirs will pay
All the nations owe today.
Other powers claim our strife,
Enemies not of death, but Life.

Father, let us understand
How Thine insuperable command
Moved and held and holds us where
We may Thy priceless gifts repair.
We cannot give as gave the dead,
But lo! We offer life instead.

So that when in Thine own spring
War shall droop his iron wing,
East and West and South and North,
Regenerate we shall go forth:
Masters of the secret grain
Bringing plenty out of pain.

On one occasion it was suggested that we sing "God Send Us Men." After singing all four verses a number of the prisoners proposed that we change the first line of each of the four verses which began with the words "God *send* us men," to "God *make* us men."

In this same camp a group of the older men took upon themselves the responsibility of looking after the younger element, a group of some twenty-odd boys ranging in age from sixteen to twenty years. Similarly efforts were made to look after the colored men in the camp who were housed in a separate barrack of their own and numbered over 100. A Canadian student organized a Bible class among these men which met regularly and had a wholesome effect on the men.

In another camp the British Tommies organized a soldiers' Christian Association, making an effort to maintain their membership at not less than thirty. In view of the constant transfer of men from the camp to the working detachments this was not always an easy task, for frequently many members of the Association were sent out and the remaining members were compelled to do intensive personal work in order to win others to join the Association. It was a principle which was recognized among the members that whoever was sent out on a working detachment was supposed to make an effort to organize a similar Association in the working detachment to which he was assigned. To this principle most of the men adhered religiously, with the result that from the one parent Association in the camp some twenty-three other nuclei were formed around which gathered groups of serious-minded and religious men.

In still another camp the chairman of the religious committee stated that as a result of personal work carried on by individual men twenty-three of the prisoners had been won to Christ. In the camp at Münster a special church paper was edited and published. The circulation of this was at first confined to the camp

in question, but later on it was distributed to subscribers in other camps.

Religious services for Russians were invariably held whenever it was possible to secure a Russian priest to conduct them. There were not many such Russian priests among the prisoners, and those who were available had unfortunately come under suspicion by the German authorities as men who could not be relied upon. The German officials had granted permission to many of the priests to visit from camp to camp in order to minister to the Russian prisoners of war. Some of the priests, however, utilized this privilege to convey messages from one camp to the other, with the result that the German authorities soon put a stop to the itinerant priest.

For special religious ministrations, such as communion services and burial services, provision was made by the German authorities. Usually communion services were conducted by a representative of the nationality taking the sacrament, but where this was not possible a German clergyman officiated. To me nothing seemed more desolate and tragic than the burial services. To die a stranger in a strange land and to be buried in the enemy's country, far distant from one's native land, was something which most men would naturally think of with considerable anxiety and dread. The cemeteries were usually kept up by comrades of the dead and in most cases were truly all that the German name implied, "Friedhof," or "Yard of Peace." In one or two places where there had been epidemics these cemeteries were rather large, but fortunately most of them were small. During the last year of the war, when the food supplies which the Germans could give to the prisoners were entirely inadequate for their needs, and when tuberculosis and influenza were widespread, the number of graves in many cemeteries was greatly augmented. This was particularly true of the camps where Russians, Roumanians, and Serbians were interned. To see row on row of earth mounds, each with its cross, and to be conscious of the fact that each grave held some mother's son, brought home to one as perhaps nothing else could have done the awfulness of war.

In a number of the camps a cemetery memorial contest was arranged, the prisoners themselves choosing by popular vote the design to be used in the erection of the permanent memorial in

the cemetery. I quote herewith from a speech made by a Russian priest at the dedication of a cemetery memorial erected for his deceased fellow-countrymen of the camp:

"As in most countries of the world, so in our distant homeland the last resting place of man is the object of special reverence and care. The relatives decorate the graves of the loved ones, pray there for the one gone to eternal sleep, and in times of great sorrow frequently flee to the grave of the departed one, there to hold communion with him and to receive comfort for the heart therefrom. Here neither mourning parents, wives, and children, nor brothers and sisters can come to the graves of our Russian comrades in their place of eternal rest. But none the less the loving thought of the loved ones continues unabated. Anxious supplication for the peace of their souls will rise to the throne of God from the hearts of the dear ones back in our homeland. It must bring consolation and relief to those left behind to learn that their dead are not forgotten and that their graves are not obliterated here in the strange and enemy country, but that they have found their resting place in a cemetery worthy of a Christian, that the graves are cared for and decorated, and that here a fitting memorial such as few would have received in the homeland has been dedicated to their memory.

"But it is just this that has been created here, thanks to the Christian love of their fellow-prisoners, who perhaps have sacrificed their last cent for this splendid purpose which has been permitted, thanks to the humane attitude of the camp commandant to whom all creedal and nationalistic hatred is remote. As the appointed representative of the true and only Church and of the sincerely faithful people of Russia I regard it my pleasant duty to thank you, General ——, in the name of the relatives of the dead here buried and in the name of all the Russian prisoners here, and to express to you our deep feeling of gratitude for your efforts to help in making this last resting place of our fellow-countrymen fittingly beautiful. I also have pleasure in thanking you for your moral and material support in the erection of this monument, which I express in terms of our Russian word, '*Spassibo.*' With your kind permission I will now proceed to unveil and to dedicate this monument in accordance with the ritual and rites of our religion."

At Königsbrück, the Russian cemetery memorial in the camp has as its inscription the following significant words from Psalm 119: "Let my cry come near before thee, Oh Lord."

The following epitaph is taken from *The Link*, a magazine that was published in Camp Doeberitz:

"Past yon green field, 'neath whispering trees
Which, nodding, seem to guard your perfect rest,
Sleep on, tho' battle fields and troubled seas
Divide your grave from all you loved the best.
In life enfettered, held in foreign hand,
Your spirit saddened, spent and breaking nigh,
In one last struggle, soared, to land
Victorious beyond the pale of man. On high,
Ended all, when comes th' inevitable time
For all to answer to the only Judge of man
'You died a prisoner!' But the crime?
Defending those you loved, your home—and mine."

—E. H. B.

In several camps we furnished part of the funds for the erection of a fitting cemetery memorial. In Rastatt special headstones for each American who had died were erected and a large memorial stone placed on the plot. We realized what such commemoration must mean to the relatives concerned.

In 1917 the German press called attention to the action of the Panama Republic, claiming that German subjects had not only been interned there, but had been forced to do hard labor in stone quarries and the like. Just how much truth was contained in these rumors I have had no means of ascertaining. Be that as it may, shortly after these press reports a number of Panama men who were in Germany at the time were interned by the German Government. I knew personally three such Panamanians who were studying at the University of Berlin and who had been permitted to continue their studies up to that time.

According to their story they were called upon early one morning by a German police official and ordered to accompany him immediately. They were thus unable to make any arrangement whatever for their departure. On coming to the headquarters they were told that they were to be sent to Holzminden, one of the civilian camps, for internment. The Panamanians at once requested permission to provide themselves with adequate clothing, a request which fortunately was granted. On arrival at Holzminden one of the men became ill and was placed in the hospital of the camp, where he maintains he received good treatment. His two companions, however, were set to work in one of the near by stone quarries. It seems that in the camp the men

were classified, on the basis of their physical ability, to do manual labor, into groups known as A, A1, B, B1, and so on. Mr. Rios, the man who became ill, soon recovered, but was physically weak and was placed in class B1. As soon as he was able to get about he was ordered to work, his job being the making of brooms. Here his treatment was quite different from that which prevailed in the hospital.

With many of his fellow-prisoners he was herded in the morning to one of the barracks, where they were locked in throughout the day, one hour at noon being reserved for their meal and rest. In relating his experiences he described how the most efficient worker of his group was able to make at most three brooms a day. He himself never succeeded in making more than one a day. In payment for this labor they received one pfennig per broom.

At the end of the first month he received from the camp authorities a rather officious document signifying that during the month he had earned thirty pfennig. Immediately after the armistice he and his companions were released, all three returning to Berlin, where arrangements were made, in cooperation with the American military mission, for their immediate repatriation to the homeland via France. Through a friend of the men residing in Hamburg we received word of their internment and were able through our office in Denmark to send them food parcels regularly.

CHAPTER XIV

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

The big offensive drive which was to be the last supreme effort to wrest victory before all hope of it was completely gone, was to be staged early in 1918. Renewed efforts to provide adequate munitions, additional men pulled in by the drive, a larger number of women compelled to leave their homes and to take the places of the men in the munitions factories—these were some of the immediate consequences. Men long secure in the consciousness that they would not be drafted, because of some physical or other disability, were called out. The last remnants of the men in the villages were taken. It was common to hear people speak of the offensive in terms of the 480,000 lives which Ludendorff cold-bloodedly stated it would cost. Realization was dawning that this indeed was to be decisive, that failure to win a complete victory now meant the loss of the War, and with this realization came increased intensity and determination, the desire to make the supreme sacrifice. During the year 1917 the repeated hammering of the Allies and the determined resistance of the Germans had cost the latter tremendous losses in man power, with the result that even during that year most men, including many who were physically disabled, were drafted into service. In preparation for the 1918 drive seventeen and eighteen-year-old boys were mustered into the service and were put through a hurried six weeks' or two months' training at the garrisons and then sent to the front. Naturally such tremendous drafts of men badly crippled and threatened to underman the entire industry of munition manufacture. The knowledge of this danger was, no doubt, responsible for Ludendorff's recommendation resulting in the institution of the compulsory draft of both men and women civilians, which secured supplementary forces for the munition factories.

No doubt many prisoners, especially Russians, were drafted for service in the various processes of manufacturing munitions

during these months of feverish haste to prepare for the big drive. The following case, while the only one that came to our direct attention, was no doubt typical of many. Sometime in January, 1918, a Russian Pole came to the office, according to his story suffering most seriously from lung trouble and asthma. He had been a horse-trader, but was taken prisoner by the advancing Germans and interned by them. Being a Pole, he was later released on condition that he would work in a munition factory. This he did, but because of his weakened condition soon became ill. The authorities attributed his illness to unwillingness to work and placed him under military arrest, where he spent two years and a half. Finally, his health completely ruined, and a complete wreck of his former self, he was released and permitted to go home. He spoke in a whisper, his voice evidently having been affected by his illness. At the time of his coming he was badly in need of money and above all of food. I gave him the sandwiches that comprised my noonday meal. At first he refused to accept them, not wishing to deprive me, but was finally persuaded to take them, as well as some additional bread cards and some money. As he left he kissed me in gratitude for the little I had been able to do for him.

To secure maximum service from the civilian population forced to serve in the munition factories, every effort possible was made to provide them with adequate recompense and food for the labor involved. Thus it was that munition wo kers invariably received more food than the remaining civilian population. Special bonuses, as it were, of fat, sausage, flour, and the like were granted at frequent intervals. These workers were kept under the most rigid discipline. In the spring of 1918 the 1,900 workers in one of the factories of Berlin went on strike. As punishment over 800 of them were immediately sent to the front, although many were physically unfit for military service.

As a counter measure against the growing dissatisfaction among munition workers and their desire to strike, the following quotation from a letter written by Hindenburg, April, 1917, to Lt.-General Groener was displayed in large posters:

"What Hindenburg thinks of strikes: 'Every interruption of work, no matter how insignificant, means an inexcusable weakening of our strength of resistance and appears to me as an irrec-



THE Y M C A BAND, AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR, RASTATT



AN AMERICAN HUMORIST, RASTATT

oncilable crime against the army and especially against the men in the trenches who must bleed as a result of such interruption.'"

These handbills were circulated and posted on January 29, 1918.

Efforts were made to maintain even greater secrecy than ever before about the contemplated plans. At all railroad stations, in most of the trains, in fact everywhere, signs were displayed cautioning the soldiers to be careful in their conversation and urging the men working in the factories to avoid telling secrets of manufacture, because of the danger of espionage. One such sign issued by the railway officials which was widely circulated and displayed read as follows:

"Attention, soldiers! To guard against enemy spies and their conspirators who have been discovered to frequent in large numbers our railway stations and trains, the War Ministry forbids all military individuals, our wounded men especially, making any reference whatsoever regarding troop positions, movements, new formations, and other military information of any character, especially to strange men and women. Soldiers, be careful of your conversation in the presence of others. Do not allow yourself to be drawn out into conversation. A careless word may cost the lives of many of your comrades. Report to the railway authorities any suspicious strangers who seek your company or attempt to listen to your conversations. The German soldier must not only be able to fight for his Fatherland, but must also remain silent for his Fatherland."

On the other hand, the handbills dropped by the Allied aeroplanes over German lines, in which information concerning the true situation was given, apparently had their effect in dangerously undermining the German morale, and heavy penalties were inflicted for the sending of such handbills to the homeland by the troops at the front. Personally, however, I saw any number of these handbills in the homes of German families whose husbands or sons were at the front, showing that in spite of the threatened penalty men were unafraid and did send the dangerous leaven to the home folks.

The munition workers were required to subscribe a minimum of 200 marks to the war loans, to be paid at the rate of five marks weekly, which was deducted from their salary by the munition

factory employers. By means of this automatic compulsory arrangement the munition factories were able to announce large subscriptions to the War Loan funds. Any employe proving obstreperous or refusing to subscribe the amount demanded was threatened with an order to proceed to the front at once.

The strain of three and one-half long years of bloody warfare was intense and to divert the people's attention from their own discouraging condition the big offensive was scheduled. The loss of life was unspeakable. In the church which I usually attended the names of the parishioners who had fallen in battle during the month were read on the last Sunday, and month after month the number of these names ranged from eighteen to thirty-six. In one of the Sunday school classes of this church the fourteen children were asked how many had lost their fathers in the War and six raised their little arms in reply. Over 700 parishioners in this one church had lost their lives since the beginning of the War.

The profiteering of food and clothing merchants, the extensive abuse of food regulations, which resulted in the hoarding of food, and the sale of much of it to the well-to-do, thus depriving the poor, all helped to increase the general dissatisfaction which prevailed among the people. The elaborate promises made of large stores of food which would flow into Germany as a result of the Brest-Litovsk peace, commonly referred to as the bread peace, had not materialized. Hopes of an increase of food that had been roused were rudely shattered. One of the papers gave significant and cutting utterance to the general feeling in the catch phrase "a bread card in the hand is worth ten carloads of wheat en route from the Ukraine." About all that did come were onions and fish roe with a disagreeable taste. To encourage the purchase of the latter by the public the Government issued circulars with recipes for making a palatable sandwich filling from the fish roe, but no one wanted it. The call of the Fatherland for ever-increasing sacrifice was met in a marvelous way, although one could not help but overhear the grumbling discontent of the people at these demands of their Government. Criticism of the Kaiser was frequently made, attention being called to the fact that none of his six sons was actually at the front and that none of them had been wounded or killed. These were a few of the signs of portentous trouble for the future.

No one seemed to know just when the blow was to be struck or where it was to be made, and as the days, weeks, and even months passed expectancy and excitement grew intense. It became well-nigh unendurable. Rumors of the number of men piled up at the various points at the front, of the quantity of ammunition held in reserve, and the like, were current. People coming from the region of the Rhine reported the billeting of large numbers of troops far into Germany east of the Rhine, indicating that a tremendous territory was now included in the war zone. Tales of new death-dealing war weapons, tremendous far-firing cannon, new and more deadly gas shells against the use of which the Kaiser was reported to have protested in vain—in short, the wildest of predictions followed one another in rapid succession, each leaving a new thrill of sensation. One lost sight in the prevalent excitement of the diminishing tonnage sunk month by month, which in reality predicted the ultimate failure of the submarine warfare—or was it because of its failure that attention was being turned to other fields more promising? Transfer of troops from the eastern front, where the unconditional Brest-Litovsk peace had made the presence of any large number of troops unnecessary, was known to have been taking place all winter preparatory to the big spring drive of 1918. The promise of an early victorious conclusion of the War grew, and God knows some such hope was necessary for the rapidly failing morale of both the troops and the civilian population.

The need was emphasized of making the drive before American resources could reach the field of battle and change the tide. The shrewd publicity thus given by the German press helped to bring home to the people the need of immediate action as well as of supreme sacrifice and they rallied to the cause, giving all and more than they should have given. Some of the more sensible and cool-headed men, in spite of the general enthusiasm which was artificially aroused, recognized the possibility of defeat and the utter hopelessness of the German cause now that America had joined the Allies and was beginning to ship troops across the seas, apparently unmolested by the German submarines. But no one dared give utterance to views of this character.

Many have attributed the collapse of the German armies to a lack of man power. This, no doubt, was an important con-

tributing factor, but even more decisive was the growing scarcity of raw materials necessary for munition manufacture. I doubt if many Americans realize that early in the fall of 1917 the streets of Berlin were dug up in order to get the copper telephone mains for use in shell production. The Germans discovered some steel and aluminum alloy which replaced satisfactorily the copper wire ordinarily regarded as indispensable for telephone transmission. At the same time in southern Germany, where the German cutlery industry had its origin in small private foundries, one was aware of great activity. Cultivated fields that had seemingly existed since time immemorial were being dug up and from underneath large quantities of material were being loaded on freight cars. On investigation I discovered that the material thus being dug represented the old refuse heaps of the small cutlery forges. This was being shipped to Essen, where the material was chemically treated for extraction of some of the rare metals necessary for steel manufacture.

In all the larger cities the Government requisitioned all brass door-knobs, window-locks, and other brass trimmings from private houses, heavy penalty being inflicted where people failed to report the quantity of such material in their homes. The copper roofing and window-sill plating of all buildings, both public and private, in Berlin were being removed and replaced by galvanized iron. We have all heard of how the church bells were requisitioned in order to supplement the rapidly decreasing supply of copper and provide adequate quantities for the needs of the munition factories.

Large placards were displayed everywhere, urging the people to collect all refuse, which, it was stated, could be utilized by the Government. The fast dwindling supplies were rapidly reaching a stage where they could no longer provide the devouring guns at the front, calling for more and yet more ammunition and shells. Pneumatic tires had been largely replaced by substitute metal spring tires of short endurance. Germany was rapidly coming to the very end of her resources. She must wrest victory at once or submit to her overwhelming enemies. She chose a last supreme effort to win.

So it was that the long expected German offensive was launched. It came with a ferocity and initial success that was most en-

couraging for the Germans, but decidedly alarming for the Allies. The German military machine still seemed wonderfully well organized and apparently most efficient. Reports of the "Big Bertha" and of the havoc and destruction of innocent life which it caused in far-away Paris provoked wonder and speculation. The German press played it up as a huge joke on the Allies, forgetting its tragic destruction of non-combatant innocents.

And thus the stage was set for the final battle. Victory or defeat would be the decision. It was no wonder that feeling ran high. The advance made its impression deep into the lines of the Allies. In quick, decisive succession blow after blow was struck until Château-Thierry had been overrun and Paris seemed within grasp. The wedge, aimed to divide the north English front from the south French front, had almost penetrated and completed the separation of the two armies. For the Allies those were alarming, depressing days, full of fear lest Germany should after all achieve victory. In America anxiety was keen as one began to fear that we had arrived too late. In Germany an "I told you so" attitude prevailed among the officers. Never was one's temper as an American so tried as then when one had to listen to their tales of triumph, told with cynical, cold arrogance. The German people, more prejudiced, were none the less enthusiastic, grateful, but still anxious of ultimate success. Somehow they were not so sure that the glowing reports of the press concerning the victories achieved really spelled victory. Armentieres, St. Denis, Arras, Montdidier—at will the German army seemed to advance wherever it desired. The French and British lines were crumbling. The press, evidently so instructed, began very quietly and without enthusiastic exaggeration its report of progress made. The difficulties still ahead were emphasized. Over-confidence was scrupulously avoided. One wonders now whether the authorities had any premonition of possible ultimate defeat and therefore required this note of conservatism. Invariably the school children received holidays when some large strategic point had been won. During the early spring and summer months of 1918 they had many such holidays.

These early victories had a horrible reaction on the prisoners. With practically none but German newspapers available and with years of depressing imprisonment overshadowing their out-

look, they felt that the worst was about to take place, that the Germans would win. However great a man's faith in the strength of homeland forces, it was difficult to keep up hope during these days of the continued advance of the German armies in spite of the maximum efforts put forth by the Allied armies. It will not be easy to forget the anxiety of those days for all in America. How much greater must have been the concern of the prisoners of war interned in the enemy country.

Then the miracle occurred: A halt in the advance, in which our own American doughboys played no small part. The Germans claimed that the momentary halt had been arranged to make possible the transportation of men and supplies such as guns, equipment, and munitions to the front from the rear now far behind the starting point, asserting that it was impossible to advance continuously without bringing up reserve supplies and that to do this a temporary pause was necessary; it was merely a breathing spell. But in the Allied lines new hope was growing, for the halt was not one arranged by the Germans, but was due to the unshakable stand of the Allied and American armies. The tide was turning and before many days had passed not only had the Germans been halted, but the Allies were beginning to advance.

Some months later I was given the following German version of the failure of the Germans to continue their advance which had seemed so promising in its initial stages. It seems that Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria had been in command when the offensive was launched. As it progressed successfully, Ludendorff, who was anxious for all possible glory to come to the Crown Prince, switched the command of the advancing armies and placed the Crown Prince and his staff in charge. The delay caused by the readjustment that this demanded destroyed the advantage of the advancing armies and helped to turn the tide of the battle, which concluded in the ultimate defeat of Germany. One wonders how much truth there is in this statement. Possibly Ludendorff's memoirs will throw some light on the situation; but whatever may be said it will remain an historical fact that the splendid stand of the Allied forces in the face of seeming defeat saved the day and thus rescued the world from the threatened oppression of Prussian militarism.

In Germany, as the tide began to turn, universal disillusionment resulted. Then came the revelations of Lichnowsky, former German Ambassador to England, which gave the people evidence that Germany was the chief culprit in the initiation of the Great War. The Government tried to undo the harm occasioned by these revelations, but in vain. The failure of the submarine warfare was also apparent, for month by month the amount of tonnage destroyed had decreased by extraordinary and unexpected degrees, while on the other hand, the amount of tonnage being constructed in Allied dockyards was rapidly overcoming the losses of the previous months due to the submarines; and added to all these discouraging signs of the times were the increasingly serious food conditions. The health of the civilians in the large cities was being undermined most dangerously. The community kitchens which had been organized a year or so before were now feeding 100,000 to 250,000 people in the city of Berlin alone. The death rate due to malnutrition and the resultant intestinal diseases was overwhelming and disastrous.

The Allies continued to counter-attack and, slowly at first but none the less surely, began their advance, pushing back step by step the German armies, which were beginning to show signs of demoralization. The agitation of the Majority Socialists and the Independent Socialists at home, and the propaganda circulated by them among the army, exerted a telling effect. Danger of an approaching invasion of the Fatherland by the Allies seemed imminent and created a state of chaos not only in the German army, but especially among the German people at home. The hopelessness of the German cause gradually became apparent, and very soon there was an insistent demand for peace. It was argued, "Why sacrifice more lives in this war which has already cost so many, for a cause which is now hopelessly lost?" The Social Democrats and Independent Socialists took up this as yet unvoiced desire of the German people and became the opposition party in the Government. We know the fate of Hertling, the Third Chancellor of War, and of his successor, Prince Max of Baden. The braggadocio of the German officers who had been most loud in their prophecies regarding the defeat of the Allies had now changed to a subdued, anxious attitude. In the National Assembly long debates and heated discussions regarding a more

liberal form of government were constant. At Easter time, 1917, the so-called Emperor's message had been proclaimed in which he promised the German people a far more liberal form of suffrage, granting the right of vote on an equal, uniform basis to all men of age. The Government, however, largely due to the *Herren-Haus* (House of Lords) had opposed the ratification of this proposal, with the result that the Socialistic Party which was most in favor of this liberal form accused the Emperor and the Government of not keeping faith. Thus conditions continued throughout the summer, becoming more and more alarming and resulting in the ultimate overthrow of the Government at the time of the German Revolution, about which more will be said later.



TAPS. BURIAL OF AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR, RASTATT



AMERICANS ATTENDING SUNDAY MORNING CHURCH SERVICE, RASTATT

CHAPTER XV

VISITING THE FIRST AMERICAN PRISONERS

During January and February, 1918, regulations pertaining to enemy aliens were greatly intensified and they were kept under closer surveillance than ever. No doubt this was part of the program in preparation for the big drive. My American passport had expired early in January, and because of the long delays in securing proper sanction for the issuance of another passport there were several weeks when I had no valid citizenship papers. These were weeks of tremendous suspense for me, for I feared a request of the Germans to show my papers, which would have meant my immediate internment or even forced conscription into the German service as an individual without citizenship. Fortunately, my passport arrived before such an investigation occurred. It was during these months, furthermore, that the Germans requested all enemy aliens to surrender their passports. I had heard of the order a week or two before it was issued, and immediately requested the Spanish Embassy to keep in deposit my American passport and to issue to me a substitute certificate of identification. This was done, so that when the Germans asked for my passport I was able to give them the substitute and retain the original. In exchange one received a certificate known as a "*Personal Ausweis,*" which answered all the purposes of a passport with the German authorities. I assume that this demand for enemy passports was an attempt to control spies more closely.

In February, 1918, I was summoned to the War Prisoners Department of the War Ministry and told that our work would have to cease and that I must leave the country within four weeks; similarly, that they objected to a continuance of our work among the German prisoners in England and France. The reason advanced for this sudden and drastic measure was the argument that our neutral secretaries in France and England were carrying on Americanization propaganda among the German prisoners with whom they worked, and were doing so under the cloak of the Y M C A. Naturally I firmly denied such propaganda, which

was contrary to our written agreements with the respective governments, but in vain.

In the hope of delaying decision on our withdrawal, I immediately wired our headquarters in Switzerland requesting definite information. Letters were received from England and France petitioning the German Government, on behalf of German prisoners in those countries, to permit the continuance of our work, German prisoners themselves having signed these petitions.

By this time a considerable number of American prisoners of war had been taken, the first group of thirty-nine having been captured in November, 1917. Fearing that the demands of the Germans for complete cessation of our work were likely to materialize, I made one last effort to secure the much-coveted permission to visit the American prisoners. Largely for the sake of anticipated service to them I had remained on in Germany, and now it seemed that these hopes were to be frustrated. My petition requested that, in case the decision with reference to my departure was final, I be permitted to visit our American prisoners at least once before I withdrew from the country; I contended that on my return to the States I would undoubtedly be questioned concerning the treatment and condition of the American prisoners of war.

The German authorities evidently recognized that refusal to grant this privilege would imply that conditions were so bad that they did not wish an American to see them, for they consented to my making one visit to each of the camps where American prisoners of war were interned. Such camps were Brandenburg, where merchant marines were located, Tuchel, Darmstadt, and Giessen with American privates, and Villingen and Karlsruhe with American officers. In addition there were many camps which each contained a few Americans, whereas the camps named had ten to fifty and more. My itinerary was arranged by the War Ministry; throughout I was to be accompanied by an officer from the War Ministry, the head of the War Prisoners Department declaring this was done to avoid the possibility of insult to me by any of the German camp commandants, which was likely if I as an American visited the camps alone. No doubt there was considerable truth in this reasoning, for many an officer was intensely bitter toward America.

Ever since the news of the capture of Americans in November, 1917, we had made every effort possible to be of service to them. As soon as camp addresses were ascertained, we wired our Copenhagen office to send emergency food and equipment parcels to each individual. Books, phonographs and records, athletic supplies, and writing material were forwarded directly from our Berlin office or from the offices in Berne and Copenhagen. Data concerning the men were telegraphed to Berne, with the request that the American Red Cross be informed so as to arrange for regular parcel shipments.

As time went on we perfected arrangements with the statistical bureau on war prisoners of the War Ministry, whereby we were given copies of the lists of newly captured men as quickly as possible. These were wired and dispatched by special delivery to Berne. It was thus possible to get these data to our American headquarters far more quickly than through the regular official channels. Every day saved in this manner meant that much less anxiety for the loved ones at home, and, even more important, just that much earlier relief to the prisoners.

Requests were next made in the form of a recommendation to the authorities that so far as possible all American prisoners of war be concentrated in one camp. Our experience had demonstrated that such concentration would greatly facilitate all relief work on their behalf. Correspondence, organization of our Y M C A activities, and other matters could be more efficiently and expeditiously controlled. To this request the Germans assented, but, for some reason hitherto unsolved, Tuchel, one of the inferior camps of the country and situated in a dismal territory where climatic conditions in winter were most severe, was chosen as the camp of concentration.

We had had extensive correspondence with the American prisoners in the various camps, so that the Y M C A and myself were known to the boys. Needless to say, I notified all of my good fortune in getting permission to visit them and informed them of the date of my coming. Never shall I forget these visits. Accompanied by an officer from the War Ministry, we proceeded first to Brandenburg, then to Darmstadt, Villingen, and Tuchel in the order named.

Following are extracts from letters which I wrote at the time

of these visits to the American prisoners of war in the various camps, in accordance with the War Ministry's permission referred to above:

June 8, 1918.

"It was on Thursday of this week that I had the rare privilege of visiting one of the camps (Brandenburg) with American boys. All told, there are thirty-one Americans attached to the camp, of whom but eleven were in the camp proper, the others being out on various working commandos. All were men who were captured on ships taken by the Germans, either by the raider *Sea-Gull* or by U-boats. The men I saw were a good lot, but I must frankly confess, a pitiful group; they seemed so utterly alone and lost. Ship Officer Delaney, a former member of the Brooklyn Navy Association, is chairman of the American Relief Committee which they have organized. He is a good sort and a man who can be depended upon. Nagel, the moving spirit of the crowd, has had hard luck. The ship on which he was trying to get to America from England as a stowaway was captured by the Germans. He has made two attempts to escape, the last time getting as far as Dusseldorf on the Rhine. At present he is suffering from asthma or catarrh, but after his recovery he is confronted with six months' punishment in solitary confinement as a penalty for his attempted escapes. He considered that rather heavy punishment. Johnson, a ship officer of Scandinavian descent, wondered why our Government had no treaty with the Germans relative to the treatment of American officers who became prisoners of war. He was under the impression that he should be interned in an officers' camp. Parker is a youngster eighteen years old, and another prisoner, Perkins, hails from Wichita, Kansas.

"Relative to the food parcels received through the American Red Cross, Delaney raised the question if there could not be more variety in their contents, to include perhaps dried vegetables in place of some of the corned beef, from which the fellows were getting boils. The demand for candy was unanimous. All stated that the parcels were coming regularly and in sufficient quantity. I was surprised to learn that mail from America reached the men usually in four to five weeks, now that it is being sent via France. The boys stated that mail sent via England usually took two months and more to reach them.

"Nagel has given a few vaudeville shows and has initiated a number of games of baseball, using homemade bats and gloves and balls. As yet no school work has been begun,but I was asked to supply English-French, English-German, and English-Spanish grammars. Church services are conducted by the British in the camp, but our American friends fight shy of them. I was permitted to take a number of photographs of the men, which I hope will turn out well as I should like to send copies to their relatives.

"On the basis of my visit and all I have heard, I would urge that our Government arrange for a conference between representatives of America and Germany to be held in some neutral country and negotiate some treaty pertaining to the treatment of the prisoners in both countries. My thought is that this conference should be similar to the one that has taken place between France and Germany and that is about to take place between England and Germany. There are many matters that should receive immediate attention and that should not be postponed until the number of prisoners has increased. Preparedness has been a favorite slogan of ours. Let it be so in these prisoner-of-war matters, and thereby prevent much unnecessary suffering on the part of the prisoners. Would it not be well for you to make some such proposal to our Government?

"My visit has filled me with a burning desire to remain and to continue such service on behalf of my countrymen. It has made me realize what I have missed in the sixteen months during which I have been deprived of the privilege of camp visitation. No sacrifice would be too great to make for the privilege of working for the American prisoners in such a personal way."

July 8, 1918.

"In company with an officer from the War Ministry we proceeded to Darmstadt where, according to the latest reports we had had, there should have been one hundred or more Americans. Unfortunately the larger number had been deported to another camp the morning of our arrival, to my keen disappointment. Only thirty-seven prisoners were left in the camp. These are attached to a commando belonging to the parent camp Giessen, but are working in an aeroplane school in this camp, a queer mix-up when it comes to addressing them. By happy coinci-

dence I happened to be there on the Fourth of July. The men were a rather motley crowd, among them a Pole and a Hungarian, who had received their first American citizenship papers just before they were recruited or drafted into service. This was a fact greatly enlarged upon by the camp authorities, as you can readily surmise. Most of these men had been captured April 20th, but up to date had received no food parcels from the Red Cross. I immediately wired to Copenhagen to send thirty first-aid parcels. The men are sadly in need of uniforms, underwear, and shoes or boots. Apparently all is taken from them when they are captured. Most of them had wooden clogs, some had French uniform coats, one had a black cutaway—and they presented a sorry sight, to say the least. Owing to general scarcity it is needless to say that the beds are without linen of any kind. Dirty straw sacks are used for mattresses and still dirtier blankets for cover. Darmstadt is no longer the camp it was in 1915 when I first saw it.

"The men were absolutely without any money, so I left 500 marks with them, enabling each man to receive ten marks and still leave a small emergency fund. From Berlin I am sending them books, grammars for language study, games, mandolin, and guitar, and have ordered from Copenhagen adequate athletic equipment. The camp itself, as you perhaps will recall, was one of the best in the country. I spoke with the men about the necessity of staying clean for the sake of our flag, and that particular 'Someone' back there at home, and received most hearty response.

"After taking a number of photographs we were escorted to the hospital attached to the camp, where there were six invalid Americans. Three of these were in quarantine, so that I could not visit them. I have sent them some books and games and have ordered food parcels for them by telegram. Jerry Brown (wife Mrs. J. A. Brown, address . . .) is seriously ill with inflammation of the lungs and I fear for his life. In addition he is a complete nervous wreck. He was also badly infected with lice, which were causing him much worry and discomfort. The doctor said he could not treat him for these, owing to his high fever and severe illness. Brown just poured out his heart to me, making frank confession of his sins and of his sincere endeavors to find God. Those were sacred moments there at his bedside. God

grant him recovery, bodily as well as spiritually. I wish you would write to his wife. Eugene Milewsky, another American, was also laid up with inflammation of the lungs, but was most cheerful and hopeful. He wore the smile that won't come off and begged me to send him some soap, a shirt and underwear, as well as a pair of boots, complaining that the pair of clogs he had been wearing had rubbed his feet sore and bloody. I ordered these at once from Denmark. Will you please write to his folks? (His mother is Mrs. A. Milewsky, address . . .). Nelson Waters of Company D, Regiment 102 (mother's address . . .), had just gotten out of bed after a severe attack of tonsilitis. No doubt he will leave the hospital in a few days. He was captured on April 20th and had received no parcel as yet. He, too, wanted a pair of boots, which I have ordered. I forgot to mention the fact that the men in the camp wanted laundry soap and some scrub brushes to wash their clothing. These have been ordered from our office in Copenhagen, but are a suggestion for the American Red Cross, which should include such in their parcels in the future.

"Needless to say, I was loath to leave the camp and much preferred to remain. How thankful I am that I was privileged to visit them! I left with the prayer that some way might be found to enable me to remain here for this all-important service to my countrymen.

"From Darmstadt we left for Villingen in the Black Forest, where the American officers are interned. We visited the camp on July 5th, and were most cordially received by the commandant, a lieutenant-colonel who knows America, having spent many years there. He impressed me as sympathetic and I feel at ease so far as his treatment of our men is concerned. The camp is a small one with but 120 officers, all Russians with the exception of thirty-odd American officers interned there. They are largely officers of the Medical Reserve Corps, a number of merchant marine officers, a few infantry officers, and an aviator, Harold Willis, in French service, as was evident from his French uniform. If you will consult the last official lists I sent you will find him reported as being in Bad Steur. Kindly give notice to those in authority of the change of address. Hardesty is the senior among the Americans. Before leaving the camp I was promised a complete list of all the American officers with their regimental and home addresses. The

camp has a theater with cinema, tennis grounds which can be used for football, a reading room and library, gardens, some six small music rooms where individual men can practice, shower baths and bathtubs, a barber shop, and a dentist office. The Americans are all living together in one large barrack. The commandant spoke most highly of the spirit of the men and the officer from the War Ministry who accompanied me remarked when we left the camp that they were a 'fine lot.'

"The canteen had considerable variety to offer. What surprised and pleased me especially was the large assortment of fresh vegetables offered for sale. I only wish we could get as good a variety in Berlin.

"Now as to the wishes and requests of the men: Some bacon or fat in place of part of the meat usually sent in Red Cross parcels; if possible, some tea, Quaker Oats, and a washrag or two for each officer. Most important, regular notice of the standing of the American Baseball Leagues. If you can arrange to get this, I am sure all the Americans would be glad to have it. If my suggestion regarding a continental issue of *Association Men* for distribution in the prison camps is carried out these baseball scores should by all means be included. I am sending the men French, Spanish, and German grammars. Can you provide a good English-French, French-English dictionary—some good standard work? We are sending a phonograph with an elite selection of records. Athletic equipment has already been ordered.

"Special facts to be borne in mind are the following: First, the status of the merchant marine officers. It seems that as long as they are able to pay the necessary fifty-two marks a month for board and keep they are permitted to remain in the officers' camp and are regarded as officers. If unable to pay this amount they are sent to the privates' camps. Infantry officers are receiving as their monthly stipendium only sixty marks, of which fifty-two marks must be paid to the camp authorities for board. The remainder is entirely inadequate for incidental expenses. The commandant stated that as yet no treaty exists between Germany and America regarding this matter and that the German authorities are paying the Americans sixty marks, which is the amount paid to officers of the same rank of other nationalities. The American officers questioned if our Government could not











Types of Prisoners of War

arrange for a higher stipendium. Can you send some simple French literature suitable for those who are studying the language? A request was made for a good European history in English. I have made arrangements with His Royal Highness, Prince Max of Baden, to draw scientific books from the Heidelberg library for the Americans at Villingen.

"In conversation with the German official from the War Ministry who accompanied me I expressed the desire for a regular permit to visit our American men and he urged me to appeal to General Friedrichs, saying that such a possibility existed. This gives me new hope and I shall confer with the General just as soon as he returns from the Hague. I understand that a conference is being considered to take place between our Government and the German Government regarding prisoner-of-war matters. If this be true, may I make the following recommendations for consideration at this conference:

"1. That the names of newly captured Americans be reported more quickly than has been the case up to date.

"2. That some arrangement be made possible whereby the American Red Cross or our organization can send parcels to the men while still in the occupied territory behind the lines. The men are often six to eight weeks there before they are transferred to camps in Germany. Camp Limburg could be used as a distributing center for the men behind the lines.

"3. That the American prisoners so far as practicable be interned in one camp, in accordance with the written agreement to that effect which I secured from the War Ministry, copy enclosed. At present the Americans are scattered about in at least a dozen different camps.

"4. That they be not compelled to work in any direct war industry.

"5. That the chairmen of the American camp relief committees be permitted to correspond with relief agencies without having such correspondence deducted from their allotted monthly quota.

"6. That permission be granted the American officers to take strolls in the country surrounding the camps, similar to the permission granted the officers among the prisoners of other nationalities.

"7. That the monthly stipendium paid the American officers be increased sufficiently to allow funds for incidental expenses.

"8. In case I am unable to secure permission for regular camp

visitation before the conference that you then endeavor to secure such permission officially. I consider it absolutely essential that some American man visit our men regularly. I should be glad to do so if those in authority are prepared to accept me for such a task.

"9. Absolute abolishment of all reprisal measures in the treatment of the prisoners of war in the two countries concerned.

"10. Permission for our prisoners to retain all clothing, underwear, and boots which they possess at time of capture. Any other procedure is highway robbery. It seems that immediately after capture most of their clothing, and in several instances private possessions, such as money and gold watches, have been confiscated by the Germans, promise being given that they would receive these on arrival in the prison camps. Up to date there has been no return of such confiscated clothing."

July 22, 1918.

"If a lonesome and homesick American living at present in Germany were in need of a bracing tonic I would recommend to him a visit to the American prisoners of war in Camp Tuchel in West Prussia. I was there on Friday last, July 19th, and have felt a different man ever since. There was a certain refreshing, cheery spirit, a fullness of life, and a jolly good fellowship which did my heart good. The men displayed a truly splendid spirit in spite of their environment, which left much to be desired.

"Accompanied by a captain as representative of the local War Ministry, I was met at the railway station by the official camp carriage in which we were driven to the camp, some two kilometers out of town. On arrival there we were greeted by the interpreter who had been assigned to accompany us on our tour in the camp. With him we went first to the camp hospital, where I met two American doctors—Dr. Steele Abbott and Dr. Joseph Burke by name. For some reason they had been transferred from the American officers' camp at Villingen to Tuchel, apparently to give medical attention to the American privates of the camp. It seems that my request for concentration of the American prisoners in one camp has been granted and that Tuchel has been picked out as the concentration camp. At the time of my visit there were eight Americans in the hospital. No serious cases were among them, however, all being cases of cold and influenza which is running its course through Germany.

"The doctors had no complaint relative to treatment, but wondered why they had been singled out for this service and whether it would interfere with their possible exchange as soon as agreements relative to exchange of prisoners had been reached between the two countries involved. They are anxious to have a private room, if possible, their present one being only partly private, as Russians and others pass through it constantly. They spoke also of the possibility of securing a cook stove, but remarked that this was doubtless out of the question in view of fuel shortage. A stove would better enable them to prepare the supplies they receive from the American Red Cross. I have therefore put in an order for one. In addition to French and German grammars which we are sending from Berlin they would like to receive the following medical books: Handbook of Surgery, and Practice of Medicine; some good medical compendium in English. I wonder if you are able to secure these and could send them directly to the doctors. How about spec al parcels for the doctors, for which they are prepared to pay either directly or through the r American banks? They would like condensed milk, ham, cheese, and sugar in these additional parcels.

"After a cup of tea and real Uneeda biscuits prepared and served by their orderly, Private Grimsley, a smiling, good-natured giant from Salina, Kansas, we visited the American invalids of the hospital. They were all in good spirits and apparently had been doing a lot of reading, judging by the appearance of the volumes in the Tauchnitz edition which we had sent them some weeks previously. They wanted more reading matter. Could we not send them some up-to-date American novels? They had received a copy of one of Rex Beach's books which resulted in a veritable scramble, for it had the homeland fragrance.

"From here we went to the camp proper where we were greeted by the commandant and his adjutant, both of whom accompanied us on our tour of the camp. Tuchel is very much like every other camp in Germany: Entry gate, long broad avenue separating the camp into two large compounds and lined on either side with the administration buildings, post office, quarters for the guard, kitchens, storeroom, canteens. The barrack section of the camp, however, presented an unusual appearance. Instead of the regulation barracks one had here a type of underground dugout.

They look very much like the trenches in which it is customary in this country to store potatoes and other root crops for the winter, rather than the abode of hundreds if not thousands of human beings. My officer companion was as much surprised as I was and said little. The interpreter, a recently returned civilian prisoner from the Isle of Man, and a man fully appreciative of the hard lot of the prisoners and therefore most sympathetic, related how in winter the water constantly runs in the barracks making them most unhealthy. It was evident that he did not approve of the quarters.

"Naturally, as we wandered through these dugouts to the one where I realized my countrymen were housed I was deeply concerned; but this fit of depression disappeared like magic as I was presented to our men, some forty-odd. There was real life and enthusiasm and I must confess I was greatly pleased to see how thoroughly happy the fellows were to see me. Such handshaking, such rapid exchange of ideas! It was great. Time went altogether too quickly. I had to shake hands with each and every one of the forty-odd men. Then came an avalanche of questions concerning conditions in America and news of the battle front. Corporal Frank Upton, a former New York policeman to whom we had sent a mandolin and a guitar, appeared with both and with another companion began to play, boasting that he had learned to play since becoming a prisoner of war. The modest request was made for another mandolin and guitar. I had to see the two by four room which served as special quarters for the three sergeants. Then came tales of experiences, of how they cooked, how they had distributed our Y M C A emergency parcels to the new arrivals, how they had served their comrades on commando, etc., etc. Then a number of photographs were taken. It was really fine and a taste of home for me. Requests included Nietzsche's works in English. This is in addition to the books desired, about which I wrote you on Saturday. My other letter also gave requests for shaving brushes, phonograph records, and other articles.

"Tomorrow the War Ministry is to give me word as to whether the Americans can be transferred to a more favorable camp. I trust Rastatt in Baden, which has been proposed as new headquarters, may be chosen.

"There seems to be considerable confusion and inaccuracy in the prisoner-of-war records reported through the Statistical Bureau of the War Ministry. Thus I recently received a list of American prisoners of war just captured whose addresses were camps in Bavaria. I immediately telegraphed our secretary there to visit them, but on inquiry he was told that there were no Americans in the camps indicated and that there never had been any. In addition, I am still unable to locate over 200 of our countrymen who have been reported to us as prisoners of war in the official lists. I have appealed to the authorities for improvement of this service. As you know, by an arrangement made with them I am able to secure the lists of new captures immediately. These I have been sending to you for report to America and for reference to the American Red Cross, in order to enable them to know where food parcels are to be shipped.

"The men at Tuchel remarked that so far as treatment is concerned they had no complaint, but that when it came to quarters, the less said the better. They did complain, however, of the hard work they had to do. Early mornings they had a many-mile hike through the snow and bitter cold into the forests, where they chopped wood all day. This they hauled back on huge wagons or sleds for use as fuel in the camp. I wish they did not have to do this work.

"Unfortunately, my time with them was altogether too short and I had to leave just as we were getting well acquainted. I was the richer, among other things, by a package of Uneeda biscuits and a tin of corned beef, but above all by a feeling of gratitude and pride that our men are such a fine lot.

"I have just had word that a larger number of our men are in Lamsdorff, a town near the Polish boundary. A telegraphic inquiry brought me a reply this morning that Sergeant Irving Dresser is chairman of the committee in the camp there. You will probably want to write him. I have sent books and games there from here and have ordered emergency parcels from Copenhagen by telegraph. I hope to visit the men there soon.

"May I make a further suggestion for the coming conference between American and German officials on prisoner-of-war matters? Permission to go out on strolls should be secured for the American privates such as is now granted the officers, and since

the last negotiations has also been permitted to French and British privates."

Additional supplies were sent to the men upon my return to Berlin, in accordance with their requests. More books, a phonograph and English records, musical instruments, pens and ink, pencils, paper, notebooks, and, most important of all, baseball equipment, were included in these shipments.

CHAPTER XVI

CAPTURED DOUGHBOYS ALL IN CAMP RASTATT

Largely as a result of the information given me by the interpreter during my visit to Camp Tuchel, I was resolved to make an effort to secure the transfer of our men to more congenial surroundings. The German War Ministry official who had accompanied me had apparently seen no German prison camp previously; it was evident that he was more or less ashamed of the conditions in which the men were living. On our return trip to Berlin conversation revealed that he would personally back up any petition, protest, or request that I might make to the War Ministry for better housing facilities for our men.

Thus encouraged and determined, I conferred personally with the proper officials and then submitted a written request that our men be transferred. Early in August the transfer of the men to Rastatt, Baden, began; from that time on this camp became headquarters camp for American prisoners of war. The smaller groups that had been scattered in numerous remote camps were all gradually concentrated at Rastatt, where before the end of the war some 2,600 doughboys were interned.

Requests were made that the men be sent to the camps as quickly as possible after their capture at the front, that better statistical service be given with reference to data of newly captured men, and above all that no plundering of the men occur behind the lines.

In the meantime our neutral headquarters had been busy and word was sent to the German War Ministry that our forced withdrawal would hurt the German cause tremendously in the eyes of the entire world, as soon as their demand for cessation of our work became known; and Germany could not afford to lose any further moral prestige, for she had little enough. This apparently presented a new angle of the situation to the Germans, the consequences of which had never entered their calculations. It no doubt accounted for the continued delay on their part in reaching

a final decision, so that we continued our work throughout the summer of 1918, although we had originally been asked to withdraw in February.

Our staff during this period consisted of four Danes, two Norwegians, three Swiss, and three Swedes; with myself, an American, ours was a most cosmopolitan staff of workers. On the other hand, we, the representatives of five nationalities, were working on behalf of twenty-nine different nationalities represented among the prisoners of war.

The following letter describes some of my experiences at Camp Rastatt:

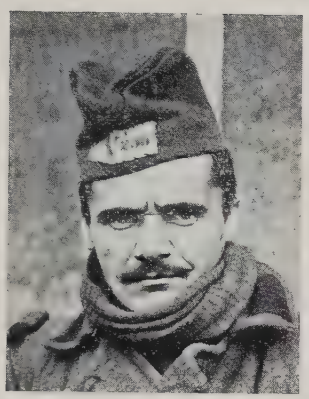
September 5, 1918.

"While at Rastatt on September 3rd I wired you as follows: 'Send immediately care of American Help Committee Ukrainian Camp Rastatt three weeks' rations for 1,000 men. Clothing, equipment, such as shoes, underwear, uniforms, imperatively necessary.' I sincerely pray that you have received this telegram and have made immediate arrangements for the shipment in question. The need of it is most urgent, of which more later.

"I have just had two most splendid days in the camp with the 800 or more of my fellow-countrymen there. These two days have fully repaid for the waiting and possible sacrifices of the past eighteen months. Mine has been a most enviable privilege. On Monday I met with the two committees which were organized upon our recommendation, namely an American relief committee and a Y M C A cabinet. The latter consists of the chairman of the Y M C A and the chairmen of the religious work, athletic sports, band, theatrical, personal visitation, kitchen, and commando extension committees. Plans for a Y M C A hut and an adequate athletic field as well as for proper equipment for a kitchen were discussed. Wright is no longer president of the relief committee, but has been succeeded by Sergeant Halyburton, the ranking American in the camp. Temporarily this change caused some friction, but Wright played the man and fully realized that the new candidate was better qualified to handle the difficult position of president. Owing to the fact that Wright was a private he had difficulty in maintaining discipline, whereas Halyburton is past master in this matter.

"I was taken to the camp immediately upon my arrival in town











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and was left entirely alone with our men until seven P. M., when I was again called for. Tuesday morning I again went to the camp and remained there the entire day absolutely free with our countrymen. We opened up on Tuesday with a big Y M C A meeting. I had secured permission for the Americans in the four compounds of the camp to be brought together for this occasion. Ordinarily the Americans from the respective compounds are not permitted to mingle except by a very special permit. I wish you could have been present at the meeting. Sergeant Halyburton took charge and lined up the men in the form of a large quadrangle two deep. In the center a table and one or two stools had been provided for Sergeant Halyburton, the president of the Y M C A, and myself. Corporal Upton, leader of the Catholic group, stated afterward that every single Catholic was in attendance at the meeting and gave the further good recommendation that now here in prison all denominational differences and antagonisms must cease and that all Americans to a man must stick together as one, not only in patriotic matters, but also in religious matters. Over 600 men were present. You can imagine the thrill that went through me as I faced this group with the privilege of talking to them as men. My topic was 'Manhood personified in the Master, body, mind, soul, and fellowship'—avoidance of stagnation and encouragement of growth in all four respects. We closed the meeting by all joining in the Lord's Prayer. I wish the American friends of these men could have heard that prayer.

"Announcements were then made, the men being urged to hurry through their dinner and to reassemble for a stunt program early in the afternoon. This began at twelve-thirty and continued until two-thirty, during which time the men laughed until their sides ached. Even the German guard who had gathered outside the barbed wire seemed thoroughly to enjoy the feats that were pulled off. These included a forty-inch dash, cracker whistling stunt, Indian club relay race, and ball relay race, in each of which some eighty men took part. We wound up the meeting with a song service, rendered by a quartet got together on the spur of the moment.

"I then gave the remainder of the afternoon till after five-thirty to personal interviews, with the schedule in charge of Sergeant Dresser, President of the Y M C A. I had a continuous

stream of interviews at the rate of one every three or five minutes. In these I met Y M C A men, students—among them a graduate of Columbia—men with whom I had corresponded, and many others. Money matters, greetings home, and personal problems all came up in these interviews. Then I had supper with a group of men—really and truly Boston baked beans, sweet corn fritters, green peas, and rice pudding! The time for my departure came all too soon and I was loath to leave when the German interpreter of the camp came to call for me. They were two wonderful days and throughout I was left entirely alone in the camp to mingle freely with our men.

"Now a word as to my telegram. Up to date the men, even those captured as far back as April, have received no clothing whatsoever. Several were running around in underdrawers or pajamas which we had furnished, because their only trousers were being washed. One or two had no trousers at all. Shoe equipment was even worse, and the committee is compelled to 'drum up' from the men left in the camp full clothing equipment as best it can for the men who leave daily in small squads for near-by working commandos. You can appreciate that under these circumstances I cannot urge too strongly that the clothing outfits be shipped by the quickest method possible. Many of the men in the convalescent ward and in the hospital were without pajamas. I had sent some sixty sets from those which Mrs. Morris, wife of our Minister to Sweden, had so kindly placed at our disposal. These had proved most welcome.

"During the afternoon of Tuesday eighteen new men arrived from the front, some of them captured as late as August 10th. I am sending you with this a list of their names which I received at the time. Their one complaint was that they were hungry, and after they had run the gauntlet in the *Entläusungsanstalt*, where they were thoroughly disinfected, we hurried the kitchen men to get them their supper, and a mighty good supper they received. Thus new men from the front, all recent captures, will continue to come, but the relief committee is badly handicapped in taking care of them because of the lack of food and clothing supplies. Practically none of the men have up to date received any personal parcels. With Rastatt as central camp, personally addressed parcels from the Red Cross will no longer be necessary,

but I would urge that the Red Cross send individual parcels rather than bulk shipments to the committee. A hundred or more individual parcels could be packed up in large cases so that the committee could then distribute the individual parcels to the men without sorting them out. The supplies from the Red Cross which arrived at Rastatt are well-nigh exhausted. Hence my urgent telegram that at least three weeks' rations for 1,000 men be sent immediately. I have given the relief committee 6,000 marks to distribute, at a rate not to exceed ten marks per man, to the incoming prisoners for purchase of paper and minor incidentals.

"In the course of my personal interviews I received numerous requests for safety razors. May I ask whether the Red Cross is going to furnish these? You recall that the emergency parcels which we send new prisoners from our Copenhagen office contain safety razors. All men who had received our Y M C A parcels in the various camps where I have been speak most highly of the well chosen and excellent contents. With the help of our neutral secretary in this territory we have already secured a large cooking range, which is to be set up in a special camp kitchen, which we are to build just as soon as we can get lumber. This kitchen will be in charge of the Y M C A committee, and there men can have prepared for them the supplies which come in the Red Cross parcels. The authorities have given us ground for the erection of a Y M C A building, but we are having tremendous difficulties in getting the necessary lumber. I am hopeful that we can break ground in the course of two weeks.

"Herewith are a number of recommendations and suggestions, some of which should without fail be taken up at the pending conference between representatives of the two governments:

"1. In view of the abuses associated with employment of prisoners on working commandos, difficult of proof, but none the less existent to a limited extent, I am bold enough to make the radical suggestion or rather recommendation that in the pending negotiations the non-employment of the prisoners taken by the two countries be one of the treaty agreements. I had a thorough consultation with our American boys on this matter. We concluded it was the ideal toward which to strive, on the condition that in case of non-employment compulsory attendance at educational classes should be enforced. I make this recommendation

just as emphatically as I can and with full conviction that it is for the best interests of our men.

"2. We must strive for the abolishment of the compound system. At the camp the men were in four separate compounds, between which no communication was allowed, although as previously mentioned I succeeded in securing further temporary freedom of communication during the days I was in the camp. There is really no sense in the prohibition of communication.

"The best possible gift which we can send our men for Thanksgiving will be a good, substantial bed blanket, for such are badly needed. These should be packed in individual parcels without name, and 100 or more such individual parcels packed in larger cases and shipped to the committee. It would be fine if these blankets could have our Y M C A monogram and triangle.

"Another gift which we should arrange to send our men—and the sooner the better—is a mess outfit consisting of knife, fork, and spoon, and a granite-ware or aluminum plate and coffee mug. At present the men have nothing but a soup spoon and a deep porcelain bowl. For cups many are using condensed milk tins which are not very sanitary, to say nothing of their being unattractive. I really wish we could get such outfits to the men in the next few weeks. Such an outfit could be a gift to every American prisoner immediately after his capture and I doubt whether we could give anything that would be more appreciated or of greater practical use.

"Wednesday morning, September 4th, I visited the hospital where some eight Americans are laid up. I had them all brought together at the bedside of Edward Roberts, of whose case you no doubt know. Through wounds he has become blind, but is none the less still the life of the camp barracks in which he lies. Every man speaks of his splendid spirit. With him I had a mighty fine visit and chat. Among the men was a Mr. Nelson who had been shot through the back of the head and as a result had become blind, but by some miracle he has now regained his sight. Milewsky, one of the men whom I had found so seriously ill in Darmstadt with pneumonia, came forward with a big smile on his face to thank me for all we had done for him. He had received books, parcels, underwear, and shoes. He was fully recovered, but still physically weak. Nelson Waters, another of the sick

men formerly in Darmstadt, proudly showed me the new shoes he had just received through our Copenhagen office and when I left the camp packed me up a big box of goodies as a token of his appreciation for our help. Hawkins, whom I found in the camp badly crippled through a bullet in the thigh, was transferred to the hospital for special medical treatment when I called the doctor's attention to his case. Our neutral secretary had just gotten a pair of crutches for him, for which he seemed more than thankful. I wrote a card for Roberts to his mother and have promised him to write a letter to his girl.

"This morning I sent you the following telegram: 'Send name of wounded German prisoner in American hands as candidate for exchange of Edward Roberts, our blind countryman.' I pray that you can get permission to have some wounded German prisoner exchanged for Roberts. I feel certain I can get permission to take Roberts as far as the Swiss frontier where you in turn could send someone to meet him on the Swiss side. It will be great if we can negotiate this exchange.

'While in the camp I was stampeded for baseball news. I am wondering what you have done with my suggestion regarding a special issue of *Association Men* to be sent to all American prisoners of war. You no doubt recall the *Continental Times*, and its circulation among the prisoners in an attempt to prejudice them in favor of Germany. This paper has been circulated among our men and just recently a special paper has been issued entitled *America and Europe*, for the benefit (?) of our men. This is even worse than the *Continental Times*. A judicious word spoken at the right time has resulted in a general boycott of the aforesaid paper. I cannot write you the details in a letter of this kind, but I feel confident that the paper in question will have little if any influence upon our men. As far as I can discover it is being published by a man now in the service of the Würtemburg War Ministry who formerly lived in the United States.

"Frankly, I am greatly encouraged with reference to the new camp and its environment. The officials in charge with whom I spent considerable time seemed earnestly desirous of giving our men the best possible treatment. Professor Gunther, who is in charge of the censor's office and post office, is taking a deep personal interest in our men and doing everything he can to make

life comfortable for them. True, the fact that he is a civilian makes it difficult for him to secure privileges he desires from his military superiors. The reception and treatment I received from the officials left nothing to be desired. In fact, I have rarely experienced such generous treatment in the three years I have been here. I want you to know this because of various reports to the contrary which have been circulated."

CHAPTER XVII

REAL AMERICANISM IN EVIDENCE

Much might be said about the magnificent work which Sergeant Halyburton did as ranking sergeant in the camp. While at Tuchel he was largely responsible for maintaining morale among our boys who were prisoners and above all for keeping them in good spirits. At Rastatt his task became a much more difficult one, in view of the large number of prisoners in his charge. Before the armistice there were 2,600 American prisoners in the camp, and Halyburton was responsible for law and order and morale among these men—a task sufficiently large for a man of much higher rank, for under prison camp conditions maintenance of morale is far more difficult than under any other circumstances.

In the camp at Rastatt efforts were made by the German authorities to secure as much information as possible from the men concerning activities at the front and the location of the different divisions of the American Army. The Germans realized that most of our boys would be discouragingly noncommittal. However, many among these prisoners were of foreign birth; in fact, there were not a few with whom it was necessary for me to speak through an interpreter because they could not speak English well enough to express their thoughts. We had a very large Italian element, as well as a considerable number of men from Poland, Russia, and Czecho-Slovakia. These the Germans endeavored to manipulate to the greatest degree possible. Sergeant Halyburton was fully aware of the German intrigue, and largely upon his own initiative read all letters written by the American prisoners before they reached the hands of the German authorities. Letters containing information which Halyburton believed should not get into German hands were destroyed or returned to the writer with the request to avoid such references. In an endeavor to circumvent Halyburton the Germans issued an order granting the prisoners permission to write letters in their native language, realizing that many of the men would be glad to take

advantage of this privilege. Halyburton, however, was equal to the occasion and informed the men that he would not pass any letter which was not written in English. The result was that he won out.

The efforts to propagandize the Americans through the newspaper *America and Europe* continued and became more determined. On a visit of the editor, Major Tauscher, Sergeant Halyburton declared that as long as he was ranking sergeant he would not tolerate the circulation of the paper among his countrymen. Soon thereafter Sergeant Halyburton and two others, mainly to serve as a blind, were removed from the camp and sent to Heuberg much to the consternation of the American boys, all of whom looked to Halyburton very much as their hero. On a visit made to the camp shortly after I learned from the men of this transfer, although no word had reached me through correspondence. I realized the motive back of the transfer and protested vigorously to the local camp authorities as well as to the head of the Department of War Ministry for American prisoners of war, and fortunately succeeded in securing Sergeant Halyburton's return to the camp. Such were some of the difficulties with which our men had to contend.

The following incident is also typical of the splendid spirit manifested by our doughboys under Halyburton's leadership. The German non-commissioned officers were anxious to secure some of the excellent supplies which were being sent to our American doughboys, and proposed to purchase them from the individual prisoners. Needless to say this was a big temptation, on the basis of the prices which prevailed for such commodities as chocolate, sugar, butter, tobacco, and the like. Sergeant Halyburton emphatically refused, replying to the German non-commissioned officers, "You have shown us German discipline, we will show you that we, too, have discipline," and at once he issued a bulletin warning the doughboys of the camp that anyone caught selling American goods to the Germans would be punished most severely. As a result very little if any of the supplies our doughboys at Rastatt received were sold to the Germans, who were most anxious to buy.

Through the hearty cooperation of our offices at Berne and Copenhagen we were able to provide the boys at Rastatt with



STRINGED ORCHESTRA OF FRENCH PRISONERS,
CAMP OHRDRUF

complete athletic outfits, including playground baseball, football, volley ball and the like. We purchased a piano; a phonograph and records were provided; musical instruments for a band of twenty were furnished, and under the leadership of Corporal Bergman and Private Grimsley a most successful band was organized. Through our Swiss office large numbers of books, study books as well as fiction, were sent to the camp. In short, nothing was left undone to provide the men with adequate facilities for physical, mental, and spiritual activity. Baseball and football teams were organized in each of the compounds and a regular schedule of games arranged for. There were few moments of the day when a baseball game was not being played as long as the weather permitted.

I was able to visit the camp regularly at least once if not twice a month until the time of the armistice. During these visits we would invariably arrange for evening entertainments in some barracks of the respective compounds. On such nights the barrack chosen for the entertainment was invariably crowded to its utmost capacity. In the center of the room two to four sets of the double tier bunks were usually pushed aside to make place for the band. Every available space, bunks and rafters included, was occupied by interested, expectant doughboys. The impression made upon me as I looked into the faces of my countrymen and saw their whole-hearted participation in the entertainment will never be forgotten. One evening, after securing permission from the German authorities, we had the band strike up "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," and asked the men to sing. When the first strain of the music was heard it did one's heart good to see the way hats and caps were removed and the men all straightened up to an erect standing or sitting position. And how they did sing! It was not long before we had learned the words of all four verses and on every occasion all four were sung. One night by a happy inspiration I pulled out my silk American flag which I had always carried with me, waving it to the tune of the last verse as it was being played. The effect on the men of seeing Old Glory thus displayed there in the prison camp can be imagined. There was a spontaneous outburst of wild cheers and ringing applause, and then all joined in with even greater intensity than ever in the singing of the last verse.

It was suggested that the men work up a yell to be used on similar gatherings. The following was the result:

"A-M-E-R-I-C-A! America! America! America!
Ta-ta-ta-ta-ta-ta-ta-ta-ta-ta (machine-gun style).
A shrill whistle, B-o-o-o-o-m!"

With proper cheer leading, this yell went off with a bang and great effectiveness. After an evening's entertainment, concluding with the singing of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" and this yell, the men departed to their respective barracks and bunks. I know that every one of us left those meetings better American citizens than we had ever been before and better appreciating the privilege and the significance of singing "My Country, 'Tis of Thee."

The Germans invariably made the most of the fact that so many of our men spoke such poor English or none at all. But I was always able to come back with an idea which impressed them, namely, that in spite of the fact that these men represented many of the nations at war they were none the less one when it came to patriotism and loyalty to the U. S. A. The Germans in an attempt to account for this remarkable loyalty which was so very apparent attributed it largely to our educational system, which no doubt is more or less true. Would that we had similar harmony and unity of opinion among the respective classes of our country!

On Sunday mornings a church service was regularly held, the German authorities having permitted our men the use of the Russian Church which had been erected by the Germans as part of the propaganda among the Ukrainian prisoners. Ofttimes as many as 500 of our boys attended these services. It was an informal, general religious service, and I have seen the Italian-American on his knees reverently telling his beads while I was speaking to the men assembled. Corporal Upton, representing the Catholics, always took an active part in some phase of the religious service.

The American prisoners got up a camp newspaper, the first issue of which appeared September 14, 1918. This is reproduced in Appendix III.

Another letter written at this period follows:

October 2, 1918.

"I returned yesterday from another three days' visit in Camp

Rastatt with our countrymen there and wish immediately to send you a report. On my arrival I was agreeably surprised to hear the shouting and rooting taking place. The cause of this was soon evident in the form of a hotly contested playground baseball game. From afar came the sounds of musical instruments and on inquiry I was told that it was the band practicing for the evening concerts. The entire appearance of the camp was in marked contrast to that which it presented on my previous visit. Then the men were just hanging around. This time everything presented a scene of activity. Footballs were being kicked through the air, and a baseball game was on with several hundred enthusiastic rooters. In the barracks the men were playing chess, checkers, and dominoes, etc., while others were reading and still others were busy in studying French or German; and all was due to the supplies which had been forwarded through the Y M C A.

"The gratitude of the men for these was indescribable. I was literally stormed by men who came to express their thanks and to assure me that they would always put in a good word for the Y M C A. How I wish those who contributed so liberally to the Student Friendship Fund could have been with me on this visit and seen the results of the investment of the money which they had given. Good cheer, occupation of mind, body, and soul, salvation from the maddening monotony of camp life—these were some of the results for our doughboys in German prisons arising from the gifts of American students to this fund.

"A visit to the storeroom gave evidence of efficient management on the part of the American Help Committee in the camp and furthermore indicated that the Red Cross supplies were now arriving in good shape. There was just one occurrence which had put a damper on the spirits of the men. That was the removal of Sergeant Halyburton and his secretary, Geoghegan, men of outstanding ability and of great popularity among the doughboys. I was told by the interpreter privately that the two had been transferred to Heuberg for reasons which I could perhaps surmise.[1] Apparently, Halyburton had too aggressively opposed the propaganda which the Germans were endeavoring to carry on among our men.

[1] See page 168.

"The covers of the indoor baseballs are all ripped, even though they have been repaired a dozen if not twenty times. I wired our Copenhagen office yesterday to send on further athletic equipment. This is badly needed if the athletic activities which are so very popular are to continue without interruption. The men are clamoring for a full set of baseball mitts in order to begin real baseball. Volley ball is proving most popular; and just as soon as the large field set aside for the men is fixed they will have some good, fierce football games, for which teams have already been organized. Our kitchen is just about finished. All that is necessary now is to install the range and furnish the necessary cooking utensils. These have been ordered and are ready for shipment. More delay is being experienced with reference to our Y M C A hut. It seems that the commandanture of the camp is planning to add a new compound of sixteen barracks to the American camp and our hall is being held up until definite settlement is reached with reference to the new compound. I strongly urged that we get it under way as soon as possible, so that we can celebrate Thanksgiving in the new hall. The men look forward to its completion with exaggerated interest and enthusiasm, and many men have volunteered to help in the construction of the building in order that it may be finished more quickly.

"Friday I had the privilege of seeing the efficient manner in which the weekly ration sent by the American Red Cross is distributed to the men by the camp committee in charge. It did one's heart good to see the broad smile that lighted up the faces of the men as they marched by the distributing committee and received from one a tin of pork and beans, from another a package of tobacco, from still another four packages of hard tack, and so on. Men just five days from the front feel as though they had dropped into a veritable paradise when they receive their first parcel and kit on arrival in the camp. I witnessed this unexpected joy in the case of some seventeen men who arrived Saturday night, although captured as late as September 22nd. It seems that our protests regarding the confiscation of the men's equipment immediately after capture and our request for more speedy transfer of the men to the prison camps have had telling effect, for the men now arrive from the front with the entire equipment which was in their possession when captured. Furthermore, they

are not held behind the lines for any length of time, but are shipped immediately to the prison camps.

"Friday night a band concert was given and mighty well the band played, considering their crude equipment. I was asked to double the number of instruments we have already sent so that they will have a band of twenty-four men. I met with the Y M C A and Red Cross committees of the camp and could not help but marvel at the wonderful spirit and earnestness revealed by these men. We discussed methods of greater efficiency, how to reach the men more effectively, and how to secure their greater participation in the different forms of activity being promoted. Saturday afternoon I gave over to personal interviews, and how many there were of them will become evident to you from the hosts of requests made by individual men which I will send you during the next few days. The arrival of Private Charles Jatho, an ordained clergyman from Massachusetts, means much for the religious life of the camp. A week ago Sunday he spoke at the morning church service and, judging by the words of praise from the men which have reached me, he apparently made a 'hit' in the real sense of the word.

"The baseball games go on throughout the day. We are having a hard time to furnish enough balls, for they are being used up most rapidly. Many individual men came to me deeply thankful for what had been done for them since the last visit. Thus a little Italian for whom I had cashed a check assured me that I was the best man in the world and that he was ready to do anything possible for me at any time in the future. He has now opened a little barber shop in the camp and is making good. Another expressed his deep gratitude for the dark glasses we had sent to him, and so on down the list. Saturday evening the band again played, greatly fortified by the piano which had arrived during the day. The loud hurrah which was heard when the men espied the piano and the eagerness with which they brought it into camp were good to hear and see. So many men tackled the piano that it was literally buoyed through the air like a great, big playground ball. One man after another tried his fingers on the keys as soon as the piano was taken out of the case. All the old rag-time selections and popular home songs had to be played one after the other, while the men gathered about the piano and sang together.

"I had so many invitations for meals during my stay that I proposed that we arrange a big banquet table out in the open so that all could be present. Possibly we will do something of the kind on Thanksgiving Day if the weather permits.

"Sunday morning came with a drizzling rain and I was fearful lest our outdoor church services which we had planned on Saturday would be broken up. I came to the camp at eight-thirty entirely alone and was admitted without further ado by the guard at the gate upon presentation of my *Ausweis*. The camp presented a busy appearance. Many of the men were washing and cleaning up, others were getting improvised hymn sheets, etc., in readiness. Jatho and Bisbing were hurrying about making final preparations for the service. Shortly before nine the rain ceased. We had been deliberating whether or not to hold the service indoors, although I urged that we hold it outdoors if at all possible. As the rain ceased we decided that the outdoor service would be held. Sergeant Payne, temporarily in charge, arranged for the men in the two other compounds to assemble in marching order. It was with a thrill that I witnessed them marching in with the long, easy stride so typical of our men and so different from the rigid goose-stepping of the Germans. Many had the new uniforms and hats furnished by the Red Cross and they looked like old veterans, so well they carried themselves. An improvised altar was made by means of a table and a few chairs, around which at some distance the men lined up. At first the band played an overture and then the hymns which the men sang. Bible selections were next read. One of the men offered prayer and then I was called upon to speak. How I wish the picture of that meeting as a whole in some way could be conveyed to the mothers, fathers, and wives of the men back home. I am sure it would bring consolation to many an anxious relative. The earnest attentiveness of the men and their whole-hearted participation in the whole service were such as I had rarely experienced before. There was a demand for New Testaments and Bibles and before I left I was given an order for 200 additional New Testaments. An order was also placed for a supply of 'Jesus of Nazareth'; I would urge you to send at least 250 copies of this.

"After this service in the camp I went over to the hospital where at the time of my visit there were some sixty-eight invalided

Americans. All those who were not bedridden assembled around the cot of Edward Roberts, our blind fellow-countryman. There we talked of things in general with considerable good-natured spirit, but suddenly and unconsciously drifted into a little service. A deep seriousness and unusual interest were manifest. It was evident that the men had neglected more or less completely the religious side of their lives since their capture, and it startled them to receive the challenge not to forget their God. Roberts personally still continued happy as a lark, now all the more so in view of the news I was able to bring him that he is soon to leave. I shall wire you as soon as we know the date and route of his departure, so that you can arrange to meet us at the frontier. After our service I visited the bedridden Americans, some fifteen men, most of whom were suffering from trench rheumatism but who were otherwise well. Sunday afternoon I again gave to personal interviews and was besieged by many men with numerous requests.

"A little incident that gave me pain was the departure of a squad of seventeen men for a working commando on Sunday morning just before our camp service. I think I know how every single man of that squad must have felt, leaving the camp with its many activities and friends to go out into the unknown and strange enemy country alone. They are being scattered about upon small farms. This plan has many good points, but its big disadvantage is the fact that the individual men will be alone with people whose language they do not understand. I have arranged with the Y M C A committee to give every man departing from the camp a proper send-off and above all to keep in touch with him after his departure. Permission was secured and definite plans were made to circulate our books among the men on commando, and to send them weekly bulletins relative to camp activity and regular copies of the camp newspaper, the first issue of which has already appeared, just as soon as it is printed. We wish to maintain the tie that binds our men, even though they represent so many different nationalities. The camp relief committee is making all necessary arrangements for efficient parcel distribution to the men on commando."

My efforts to secure permission for taking Edward Roberts, the blind American, to Switzerland so that he might receive more

immediate and careful medical attention were finally successful. Late in October I proceeded to the camp to notify Roberts of his good fortune. It was hard for him to believe that the good news was really true and for a long while he could not grasp its significance. Then in quiet excitement he began packing, all his comrades coming to his assistance, for we were to leave the next morning on an early train. His cup of joy seemed to be running over, and through the rest of the day and until he finally left the hospital barracks he was in a state of extreme nervousness. I had made arrangements with the relief committee and Y M C A committee, the members of which had secured permission from the officials, to meet him at the station a half hour or more before train time. I had purchased tickets and when the train finally pulled in we bade farewell to the men left behind. They were glad to see Roberts go, yet I know everyone of them deep down in his heart was wishing that he, too, was en route for home. Obviously the German passengers eyed us with interested curiosity. Their sympathy was expressed more than once for Roberts's condition which I was asked to explain several times by different individuals. All seemed glad that their Government had granted his release in this way. Not once throughout the trip did I hear a word of bitterness from the German passengers who were in the same compartment with us. Several of them offered Roberts cigarettes and one woman gave him some home-made cake that she had baked. The interest in him was entirely sympathetic. Through train delays we arrived at the Swiss frontier too late that night to meet Dr. Harte, who had come all the way from Berne in an auto to take us back; and as there were no connections we had to remain at the frontier station until the following morning, when Dr. Harte again appeared. Needless to say this delay so near liberty was most exasperating for both of us, especially for Roberts, who had hoped to be in Switzerland, a free man, that night. I made a special effort to get a good supper and at the frontier was able to get roast chicken, the first really civilized meal that Roberts had had in the course of his eight or more months of imprisonment. How we did enjoy everything! It was difficult for Roberts to realize that he was free at last and needless to say his gratitude was unlimited. He remained in Berne for several days feasted by all Americans there and then was sent on



Y M C A Committee, Rastatt

to Paris, and from there to America. This was but one of many little errands of mercy which our work enabled us to do on behalf of the men who were prisoners of war.

Some time later I visited the camp at Rastatt again. This was after the German revolution had occurred resulting in the overthrow of the military power and the establishment of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils. On arriving in Rastatt I thought an American invasion had struck town, for doughboys in large numbers were strolling up and down the principal streets. On questioning a number of them, I was told that the Soldiers' Council which had usurped power at the prison camp had hailed the American boys as brothers, declaring that they, too, were now free and had thrown open the gates of the camp, giving our men the freedom of the town. Needless to say, dangers were involved in such promiscuous mingling of our American prisoners with the German population without any discipline or regulations. The situation was aggravated by the fact that an epidemic of influenza was raging in the city, from which our boys in the prison camp had so far kept free.

I immediately hurried to the camp and in consultation with Sergeant Halyburton it was agreed to request the Soldiers' Council to withdraw their order, which gave our men the freedom of the town, and to inaugurate new regulations in order to maintain the usual discipline of the camp, and to prevent our men from going into the city. Naturally, there was considerable opposition on the part of a number of the American boys to what they termed the high-handed procedure of Sergeant Halyburton in closing the gates and demanding the usual discipline. However, persuasion soon won them over to the reasonableness of Sergeant Halyburton's appeal and all backed him up to the limit. A provost guard composed of American sergeants in the camp was immediately organized and was responsible for the fulfilment of the orders issued. It is to the credit of our men that during these trying days they maintained unusually good order and carried themselves well. The Germans commented again and again on the wonderful discipline manifested by our boys.

We did everything possible to provide even more adequately than heretofore for sufficient activities within the camp, in order that time might pass quickly and profitably. Athletic events

were scheduled throughout the days, concerts were given every night, and thus the men were kept busy, forgetting the delay in repatriation for which, needless to say, everyone was most anxious.

The following two bulletins issued by Sergeant Halyburton are typically American and indicative of his genius as a leader of men. These were drawn up by him in cooperation with his secretary, Charles Geoghegan.

BULLETIN A

"In view of today's turn of events in the World Crisis it behooves us as honorable prisoners of war and accredited representatives of the American Government, to be living exponents of our republican ideals, which in effect, can be summed up in the few words, *Be soldiers, consequently gentlemen at all times.*

"You have all borne with a noble fortitude the trials of prison life up to now. In the present critical period, the time of anxious waiting for an honorable consummation of this war and the resultant joyful reunion in home ties, let us be exceptionally careful of our behavior and exhibit on all occasions the manly principle inherent in all true *sons of the United States.*

"*Be clean*—in body at least—and let us remember *clean thoughts* and *clean speech* are invaluable aids to a clean and healthy body. *Wash your clothes regularly!* Cleanliness is the foundation of health, the first law of sanitation. Let us feel and act during the remainder of our internment as if we were always on dress parade. We owe it to our country and should each and every one of us be typical examples, pure interpreters of the magnificent, virile spirit that permeates our native land. You all believe in republican ideas—propagate them! And the surest way to present the tenets of democracy in an impressive manner is to *act them.*

"We feel sure that we will have the cooperation of the vast majority of our number in this respect. Nevertheless, should there be any one among us to commit a breach of *soldierly, gentlemanly conduct* from now until the time when we reach the Statue of Liberty (or our own units in France and England) such misconduct will be reported to the proper authorities and he will most likely receive the punishment he merits.

"E. M. Halyburton."

BULLETIN B

"Pursuant to the happenings of the past twenty-four hours all American prisoners of war will please note the following:

"1. It is likely the discipline of our unit will have to be administered almost entirely by ourselves; consequently, the responsibility for the execution of all orders necessary for our general

welfare devolves primarily upon the non-commissioned officers. Men bearing the insignia of a non-commissioned rank must live up to their stripes and carry out all ordinances to the letter.

"2. a. No men shall traverse the road between blocks unescorted by a German guard unless accompanied by an N. C. O. who is responsible for their good conduct.

"b. All work details, etc., will be formed as heretofore in a military manner under the direction of the Block Chiefs and their aides.

"c. All travel between or outside of blocks must be done in military formation.

"3. Now is the time to show your manhood! Keep your mouth shut and act—but let your deeds be in accordance with the highest American ideals. This is the occasion to bring out the sand and grit to the surface—or—the *yellow!*

"4. All infractions of rules will be severely dealt with. A non-commissioned officers' court will consider offenses and mete out the punishment commensurate with their gravity. In addition, all cases will be reported to the proper military authorities immediately upon our arrival at the U. S. A. Army Post.

"5. *Men, look the situation square in the face and do the right thing. It is only your duty! Keep your clean record untarnished.*
"November 10, 1918. E. M. Halyburton."

Speculation was extensive regarding how soon the men would leave the camp on their way to America. Many of them expected to get away before Thanksgiving, but my knowledge of the situation made me somewhat more conservative and I told the boys to plan quietly for a Thanksgiving celebration in the camp, since they would probably not get out much before the fifth of December. It was difficult for the men to concentrate on any definite program, but after considerable effort we succeeded in getting the respective committees to plan a real American Thanksgiving celebration for Thanksgiving Day. The morning was given over to a church service of thanksgiving at which a large number of the men were present. Then came Thanksgiving dinner, consisting of corned willie, pork and beans, corn fritters, rice pudding, and the like, which we ate with a relish, at the same time all doubtless thinking of the Thanksgiving turkey, cranberry sauce, and sweet potatoes that we would be eating were we at home. It was a great meal, nevertheless. In the afternoon the

big event of the day took place, namely, the championship football game between the two compound teams that had won out up to date. Rivalry was keen, excitement intense. Not having adequate football togs, the men padded shoulders, knees, and hips with towels, pajamas, sweaters—anything they could lay their hands on. The game was most hotly contested, but ended in a nothing-to-nothing tie with no man injured. This was a most memorable occasion, for not only did the game take place outside the barbed wire fence, but all the Americans of the camp were permitted to go out and witness it.

Then came our exhibit of handicraft articles made by the prissoners of war during their spare moments. It was not a large exhibit, but there were a number of very good and interesting pieces of work. I remember particularly an American flag which one of the men had laboriously made out of the tobacco bags in which his tobacco allotment had come, the blue field being made of part of an old French uniform coat.

For the evening we had a vaudeville show scheduled, having secured permission from the authorities as well as from the Russians to use their large theater and assembly hall. It was packed to the limit with our doughboys, every single man who was able being in attendance. The show went off with a vim, all the entertainers doing their utmost to put on a good program. Cheer after cheer went up and applause was unlimited. The band did its part in furnishing plenty of stirring music. The evening was concluded by the singing of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" and the roaring and shouting of the yell of which I have previously spoken. The effectiveness of the yell was clearly demonstrated when the 2,500 men, all yelling in time under the direction of the cheer leader, filled the large hall with its resounding notes.

This was my last evening with the American boys. To break away from them was not easy. One after another, they came up for a good stiff handshake and a brief word of thanks for what the Y had done for them during their captivity. The numerous letters of appreciation which have been received since indicate that this feeling was sincere. We had done our utmost to serve the boys. No doubt much more could have been done under more favorable conditions, but we are grateful that it was our privilege to remain in Germany so as to render this service to our

countrymen who were in such dire need of just the kind of thing we tried to do for them.

I quote at this time from a report of one of our secretaries to show just what prison life and imprisonment meant to the men. He writes as follows:

"A month ago a Russian general whom I have often visited presented me with a book by a Russian author, Dosdojewski, which he had translated into French. It was entitled '*Souvenir de la Maison des Morts*' and contained recollections of Dosdojewski's imprisonment in Siberia. The general told me that what is said in the first part of the book regarding the spiritual condition of the prisoners is very typical of his own prison captivity. I have read the book, which explains what is already expressed in the title and is so similar to the condition of the prisoners in the camps I am now visiting. In a true sense of the word they are 'dead men.' Let me explain this point of view. The author, Dosdojewski, states in his book that the prisoners never make friends, although they have the opportunity day after day to do so. Notwithstanding the fact that they converse much with each other, they are lonely men. I had the opportunity to speak with a prisoner on this point the other day and he was decidedly of the same opinion. He said, 'It is impossible to make friends with men with whom you are in constant contact all hours of the day. If I were to make up my mind to establish a friendship with one of the men in the camp I should wish to see him but one hour a day. When I entered the camp I was a liberal minded man, but during the years of imprisonment I have become melancholy, a misanthrope, because of this constant living with other men.'

"I have said that the men are 'dead,' and it is on this account that the aim of our Association should be to uphold life and to arouse life in the men—to foster, as it were, content among them. To make them happy I think is not the scope of our activity, as I think it is not impossible that this is attained by that which we may do for them. I have found that the prisoners—the French, for example—who have abundant food sent to them, are not any more contented than the others—for example, the Russians—who receive practically nothing; and in working commandos where they have heavy and hard work they are not any more discontented than in those places where the men have a much easier time of it. The same is true in the camps. In some they have abundant facilities for athletics, theatricals, movie-shows, and the like, and yet do not seem any more contented there than in camps where less adequate facilities for entertainment are provided. However, the men who have all these things—that is, abundant food, plenty of reading matter, adequate facilities for

entertainment, and plenty of work—seem to have more life than the others. Only he is content who has assured himself that the world is ruled by a good and reasonable Supreme Power and that what occurs to him has its definite object. As already stated, it does not make a man content to give him food parcels or books, but by giving him these things it will perhaps make it easier for him to believe in the good will of the world, for in these gifts he cannot fail to recognize friendliness and sympathetic consideration for him. Thus it is that prisoners are more content even where camp life is rigid and difficult than in those camps where conditions are more congenial but where there is less reason in the same.

"In order to show the prisoners with whom I deal that genuine friendliness is the background of our activity I have in the past month made it a practice, when they submit inquiries to me concerning their families in the home country or parcels which they have not received, to advise the prisoner in question immediately when I have done anything in the matter. I do this to make the men realize that I have a sincere interest in them and that their requests, even though impossible to fulfil, are not ignored. The beneficial result of this procedure is evident from the cards which of late I have been receiving from the prisoners, in which they express their appreciation of my sincere interest in them. Thus a Russian officer writes as follows, after he had asked me to send food parcels to him: 'I shall be deeply indebted to you in case you will place me on your list of fledglings. I hope that I shall very soon and finally be released from my present difficult position.'

"I find that one of the most effective methods to arouse vitality and interest on the part of the men is through books and studies, but in order to make this effective and secure proper promotion and participation in the camp school work it is essential to have an adequate room for the purpose. Such rooms the commandantures of the respective camps have kindly set aside for our use upon our request, apparently realizing the beneficial effect of such activity in the maintenance of the proper discipline and proper spirit of content among the prisoners."

CHAPTER XVIII

FIRST DAYS OF THE GERMAN REVOLUTION

Early in October portentous changes occurred. October 4th and 5th were momentous days in the history not only of Germany but of the world, for in them a definite proposal was made by the Germans that the warring countries should enter into peace negotiations. It was evident in Berlin that some important and perhaps decisive move was being planned. A special meeting of the Reichstag had been called for one o'clock, but when the noon papers appeared announcing that the session of the newly organized Parliament—largely democratic in its representation, but paradoxically headed by a prince, Prince Max of Baden—had been postponed from one to five o'clock because of important new developments, excitement and speculation ran rife. One waited with bated breath for the first reports of the afternoon parliamentary session at which the Chancellor was to make his inaugural speech, for it was understood that he was to make a very definite peace proposal and had been appointed largely for this task. The night editions of the newspapers were late and at a premium. It was most difficult to get a copy. At the news stands the people were lined up as late as nine o'clock waiting for the last night edition of the papers, in the hope that they would give a more detailed account of the proceedings of the session than had appeared in the earlier editions. A strange hush could be felt everywhere.

Even the discussions concerning the developments of the day took place in an awe-inspiring manner. Any individual who was lucky enough to secure a paper was immediately surrounded by a crowd, which shoved and pushed and crowded him under a street lamp and then compelled him to hold up his paper high enough so that everyone could read the first reports of the Chancellor's speech and the new peace maneuvers, which had been made in the form of a note to President Wilson requesting him to negotiate steps for the immediate conference of the warring parties to

discuss peace on the basis of Wilson's twenty-three conditional clauses. Here and there were groups where the man in possession of a paper read the accounts of the parliamentary session to the intensely quiet but interested throng about him. There was no cheering or loud enthusiasm of any kind; yet the very atmosphere seemed to be filled with one vast sigh of relief that at last the long-hoped-for step toward peace had been taken; and no doubt many a prayer was offered that it would lead to ultimate and speedy peace.

In marked contrast to these anxious crowds awaiting the latest news of possible peace were the amusement-mad crowds in the cafés and theaters on that same night. One could not but contrast the two groups. It was hard to realize that anyone could be so indifferent or callous to the crucial condition of affairs. In fact, it angered one to see these crowds apparently so unmindful of what was likely to determine the future of the world's history. Personally I was most deeply impressed by it all, and consciously as well as involuntarily prayers came to my lips that peace with righteousness might come out of the move just taken.

From that time on events kept crowding one another in such rapid succession that it was difficult to keep up to date. By October 25th many changes had occurred within Germany and others continued to take place which resulted in remarkable and astounding internal developments. To quote from a letter written at that time:

"Posters and newspaper articles are now seen, in fact have become the order of the day, which a month ago would have resulted in immediate imprisonment of the writers if not in their death as traitors to the country. Political amnesty, insubordination to military authority which had heretofore been the supreme power, even superior to civil authority, an unusual degree of freedom of speech—these and many other phenomena are crowding the stage of the new democracy being born here these days. The unuttered protests of the masses against the principle that might makes right, their long, mute suffering of its abuses, are now rumbling in crescendo manner, threatening a terrific outburst of righteous indignation. Woe to those who endeavor to thwart the masses in realizing their new-born freedom! One wonders what to expect next. The righteous aim of the War, which has grad-



Sports Day, Cellelager



In the Prison Camp Compound, Münster II

ually crystallized during the years—namely, the destruction of the power which adopts as its principle the theory that might makes right—seems nearer fulfilment, and when that is achieved the war will end, to bring to the long suffering world the new regime where the principle that right makes might is predominant.

"Tomorrow (October 27th) a host of political meetings are scheduled in all parts of the city and by all parties in the field, those representing the old as well as those of the new spirit. The old regime is wobbling and the radical changes of the past week, granted because of the tremendous pressure brought to bear by the more democratic elements in the Government, are giving it the knock-out blow. The resignation of Ludendorff is significant and abundant evidence of how far-reaching the reforms have been. And here I am in the midst of this epoch-making cyclone of political history, hardly conscious of its volume and significance. Analysis of the whole situation reveals the presence of that Supreme Something which slowly but surely and irresistibly is bringing to the world and to mankind the era of righteousness, of which Christ is the personification; and so one is beginning to recognize the causes to be thankful for, in spite of the stern, hard, and tragic facts of the War."

It may be well at this place to call more detailed attention to the message of the Emperor at Easter time, 1917. That the people who had endured so much on behalf of the Fatherland, but in whose government they had had comparatively little representation, would demand upon completion of the War a more democratic representation as well as a more active part in the management of the affairs of the country evidently was recognized by the Emperor's circle of advisers. The result was a promise on the part of the Emperor that, just as soon as conditions warranted, suffrage would be extended and developed on a more liberal and democratic basis than heretofore. This no doubt was done to prevent the Majority Socialists as well as the Independent Socialists from bolting and forming an opposition party in the Government. At any rate, the promise made accomplished this end. There had been repeated rumors that the Socialists representing the Left faction of Parliament were threatening to step out and oppose the Government when the year's budget was to be presented. The Kaiser's message temporarily at least delayed

this withdrawal, but as the months went on the demand of the Left wing for the fulfilment of the promise made by the Kaiser became more and more insistent. The government supporters of the Kaiser, however, continued to put off the issue involved, with the result that the Left opposition to the Government continued to grow. No doubt during the winter months of 1917 and 1918 the representatives of the Russian Bolshevik Government, who had come to Berlin under the leadership of Joffe, carried on extensive propaganda and agitation among the more radical elements of the Left wing, with the result that the demand was made for an immediate and complete revision of the political basis of representation.

We have already spoken of the drive in the early months of 1918 with its fatal outcome so far as the German cause was concerned. The recognition that they, the Germans, were fighting in a hopeless cause, coupled with the disillusionment following the failure of the Kaiser to fulfil the promise in his Easter message, were two of the most potent factors in bringing about the revolutionary changes that occurred in October, 1918, and culminated in the complete overthrow of the German monarchistic government.

The Left wing took advantage of the universal dissatisfaction and the growing complaint among the masses of the people in the large cities and industrial centers. These had suffered most. A large percentage of their men folks had been killed in battle or were prisoners. Prices continued to soar, while food and clothing supplies were rapidly diminishing. All these factors had a marked effect in undermining the morale of the civilian population. The propaganda of the Northcliffe press worked with telling effect, not only on the soldiers at the front, but on the civilian populace behind the lines in Germany's interior. Whether or not an organized campaign and conspiracy had been carried on for several months in preparation for the revolution I do not know and I doubt whether anyone knows. The overwhelming suddenness and initial complete success of the revolutionary effort would seem to indicate that such a preparatory campaign had been carried on. On the other hand, the factors described above were of sufficient importance to cause an overthrow as complete as the one which actually took place. It was simply a case where

the strain had gone beyond the breaking point, so that when the bow snapped it meant utter and complete collapse.

We know Wilson's answer to the proposal made by Prince Max of Baden, the newly appointed Chancellor of Germany. On receipt of Wilson's final conditions, on the basis of which he would agree with the Allies to enter into negotiations for peace, the lines in Germany wavered. The Nationalist and Pan-Germanist elements were loud in their demand that the War continue, asserting that Germany's pride would not permit her to enter thus unconditionally into negotiations for a peace which threatened to destroy German prestige for all time. On the other hand, the people and the Left wing were just as emphatic and insistent in their demands that negotiations be entered upon. The general feeling prevailed that President Wilson with the power back of him represented by America's army and tremendous resources, which were essential to both France and England if the War were to continue, and in view of his repeated declarations of fair play and the fact that the Allies were not fighting the German people but the military party, created an unusual trust in Wilson's power to secure a righteous peace and one that would not be as severe on the German people as a peace negotiated with the Allies alone and Wilson excluded.

Evidently the military and naval authorities recognized that some spectacular move must be made immediately, if this growing demand for immediate negotiations for peace were to be overcome. The military authorities were losing in prestige, because on the western front the German armies were being beaten back step by step with ever-increasing momentum by the advancing Allied forces, whose morale was of the very best at the time. There seemed to be no hope of achievement on the battlefield, in spite of the continued newspaper reports that the retreat on the west front was purely for strategic purposes and that a final stand would be made by the time the Rhine was reached. Whether or not the recognition of this fact was the cause for the proposed sea battle is not known. It is true, however, that in the first days of November the ship crews at Kiel received orders to stack up with coal, which meant getting ready for sea and in all probability a last effort to attack the British sea fleet and render to it an overwhelming and crushing blow. Upon receipt

of these orders the crews of a number of the battleships mutinied. The naval authorities in turn, fully conscious of the dangerous situation created, resorted to the most drastic measures—immediate imprisonment of the crews that had mutinied. The result was a general revolt of all the crews in the harbor at Kiel. Officers were overwhelmed and sailors' councils were organized to take charge of the ships. This mutiny at Kiel by the seamen, similar to the mutiny of the seamen in Russia, served as tinder to set aflame the revolution in Germany. The news was received in Berlin with astonishment, for the principle of obedience to their superiors was so inbred in the people that they wondered at the daring of the Kiel sailors.

But the tide was turning. The German forces retreating before the blows of the advancing Allied troops were nearing the German frontier on the west, and an invasion of German territory by the Allies seemed imminent. The Government, under the leadership of Prince Max of Baden, continued to delay action on Wilson's final terms, acceptance of which was required before the Allies would agree to enter into negotiations for peace. The exchange of notes between President Wilson and the German Government was watched with great anxiety. Peace seemed near and yet everyone feared that something might occur to prevent the conclusion of the final terms.

The Left wing, representing the Social Democratic element, then took matters into their own hands and presented an ultimatum to the Government. After this ultimatum was issued to the Chancellor by the Socialist Party in the Reichstag on November 7th it was but a step to the complete overthrow of the old Government. In the ultimatum five propositions were presented, as follows: First, permission to hold the meetings which were scheduled for November 8th but which had been prohibited by the Government; second, instruction to police and military officials to be most cautious in any action taken by them; third, the abdication of the Kaiser and the Crown Prince before Friday noon, November 8th; fourth, an increase of the Social Democratic influence in the Government; and, fifth, the remodeling of the Prussian Ministry in accordance with the desires of the majority parties in the Reichstag.

To this ultimatum the following comment was appended: "If

no satisfactory answer is received by Friday noon the Social Democratic element will withdraw from the Government." Special handbills containing this information were distributed throughout the city and addressed to the laborers and party colleagues. A word of caution was included, urging the people to be calm, in order to prevent bloodshed at home now that bloodshed at the front was to end, and concluding, "The Social Democratic party is doing its utmost to bring your demands most quickly to fulfilment." Coupled with this manifesto was the promise of an increased bread ration, which was soon to go into effect. It is evident that the Social Democratic party was sincere in its desire to bring about without bloodshed the revolutionary changes in the Government necessary in order to satisfy the masses. The Government replied to the ultimatum that at least forty-eight hours would be required for a conference with the military authorities at the west front and such other authorities as were vitally concerned in this final step. The Left wing compromised and agreed to extend the time of the original ultimatum twenty-four hours.

Saturday noon, November 9th, the answer of the Government was to be given on the basis of this compromise. The preceding Thursday night the Government had sent many troops into Berlin and the streets that night presented a most martial appearance. The large restaurants and cafés in Friedrich Street just one block west of Unter den Linden had been requisitioned by the Government for quartering the troops called to the city to be held in preparation for the violence that seemed imminent. The streets were blocked with horses and caravan wagons containing supplies for the troops; large numbers of heavy caliber guns and innumerable machine guns were to be seen. All bridges were heavily guarded by soldiers. One could see armed sentinels stationed at all vantage points on the roofs of the public buildings about the royal palace. The police were reenforced, each accompanied by a German soldier. Needless to say, the situation was tense and excitement ran high in anticipation of possible events.

On Friday matters continued comparatively quiet, but tense; many rumors were circulated that the sailors from Kiel were on the march to Berlin and were coming to overthrow the Government and inaugurate a revolution to replace the monarchy by a

democracy. The Government sent out many troops along the railway line leading between Hamburg and Berlin, the route along which the sailors from Kiel were reported to be approaching Berlin. Armed resistance was being planned and many miles of track were torn up in the effort of the Government to prevent the entrance of the Kiel sailors into Berlin. By Friday night the situation seemed hopeless from the standpoint of the Government, although nominally it was still in power. No violence as yet had occurred in the city.

Saturday morning on my way to the office, which was situated very near the royal palace, I was surprised at the remarkable quiet and calm that seemed to prevail. It proved, however, to be the calm before the storm. Wild rumors continued to chase one another in rapid succession. It was reported that several of the garrisons in Berlin had mutinied and had organized the revolutionary party to unite with the sailors. About 10:30 A. M. I went up Unter den Linden from the palace to the Brandenburg Gate. Large crowds of curious people, apparently little aware of the tremendous forces at work, were idly and curiously strolling up and down the streets, evidently desirous to be on the scene should anything really happen.

As I reached Wilhelmstrasse a large motor truck, flying two red flags, with two machine guns mounted in front, and filled with armed soldiers and civilians, sped down the street, turned into the Unter den Linden, and passed through the Brandenburg Gate, using the center arch which had heretofore been held sacred for the Kaiser and the royal family. The revolution was on. Many other autos soon followed and one realized that the big event had occurred. Excitement ran high. Coming through the Tiergarten and approaching the Brandenburg Arch marched a parade made up of soldiers, sailors, and a large number of civilians, apparently from the near-by factories. Red flags were in evidence everywhere and large placards carried by individuals in the parade announced to the spectators the factory from which the paraders came. One of the placards at the head of the procession displayed the words, "Brothers, do not shoot." Another placard which was frequently carried by the paraders attracted considerable attention and provoked much comment. Short and to the point, it proclaimed to the passers-by: "Liberty, Peace, Bread."

At three o'clock Saturday afternoon, November 9th, Scheidemann from the balcony of the Reichstag proclaimed the German Republic. Monarchy was no more and democracy had made its entry into Germany. As yet there had been no bloodshed. From then on until late in the night localized and spasmodic shooting occurred in different parts of the city. Unter den Linden soon became a teeming mass of humanity—suburbanites and residents of Berlin flocking thither on hearing what was taking place. From the veranda of the Crown Prince's palace, an orator told of the events that had transpired. In the space between the royal palace and the cathedral, a workingman on top of an ambulance auto eloquently explained to the crowding masses the significance of the revolution. Among other things he prophesied the transformation of the royal palaces into homes for invalided soldiers. I admired the shrewd eye for business of a movie man who passed up and down the street photographing, as it were, the revolution. His films should prove a valuable contribution to the history of the German Revolution.

I spent many hours of that first night at the east portal of the Reichstag in order to observe the events that were taking place. The revolutionists had taken possession of the building and revolutionary troops were being quartered there for emergency purposes. Every few moments a messenger appeared, announcing that officers were offering resistance to the revolutionary movement in some section of the city. He would then call for volunteers and immediately ten, fifteen, twenty men or boys responded. These were quickly armed, loaded on a waiting auto truck, and hurried away to the scene of resistance. Discipline was done away with; the rigid restraint under which every soldier had chafed many times was gone, and innumerable abuses of the newly won liberty resulted. On the whole, no doubt, because of the inherent sense of obedience to superiors acquired through generations, the men maintained unusual order under the circumstances.

Other parties were sent out in search of German officers; when found they were forcibly compelled to surrender their sabers, to remove their epaulets, and to join the revolutionists, or to move on. Obviously many an officer thus accosted by men whom he was accustomed to see most submissive to his own commands, offered resistance, and fighting resulted. Hotels were searched

and officers forced to submit under penalty of death. I witnessed many a scene where a general or other officer was rudely attacked by private soldiers, his saber torn from him, the epaulets ripped off from his shoulders, and he then ordered to move on. Every soldier was ordered to remove the red, white, and black cockade and all decorations.

It was reported that in several of the cafés, notably Victoria, Kranzler, and Bauer, officers had entrenched themselves prepared to resist to the limit. Similar resistant groups of officers were reported to have entrenched themselves in several of the university buildings, in the palace and stables of the Crown Prince, and in the royal stables (Marstall). Parties were sent out immediately to storm these citadels with the result that extensive shooting took place. A few deaths resulted. Such was the beginning of the German Revolution on that memorable November 9, 1918.

It will be recalled that in the parliamentary session of October 22nd the Government finally yielded to the demands of the Majority Socialists for a more representative government and for the overthrow of the Prussian Junker class. On October 23rd, *Vorwaerts*, the organ of the Social Democrats, commented on this session as follows:

"Without song or music, without honor and without warm applause, but more as one condemned and with the hisses of the masses, someone was buried yesterday in Parliament. The bankrupt Junker regime, the system of Prussian feudalism was forevermore abolished. The Reichstag through the mouth of its first speaker gave final condemnation to the system which has brought Germany into the abyss. Upon the gravestone of this regime the following epitaph will be placed: 'It lived as it died, in dishonor.' Involuntarily all the speeches made at this session seemed to concentrate around the inner political transformation. With reference to a foreign diplomacy the discussion brought no new sensations. The answer of the German Government to Wilson has been known since Monday, and since the Government now is no longer something strange and secret, but the confidential organ of the Parliament, it was clear from the beginning that between the Government's answer and the will of the majority unanimity of opinion was sure to prevail."

In this same issue announcement was made of the liberation of Carl Liebnicht, who had been incarcerated because of his daring criticism of the Government and his open refusal to support the



Arrival of Food Parcels in Prison Camp, Münster



The Parcel Post Rooms at Prison Camp, Dülmen

budget recommended by the Government for the continuance of the War.

The Sunday following the proclamation of the German Republic was a memorable day in the history of Germany. Isolated shooting continued throughout the downtown section of the city, in all cases the cause being the resistance of German officers who refused to obey the orders to disarm given them by the soldiers and civilians now come into power.

The police presidency was occupied by the revolutionary party and here an attempt was being made to provide certificates of identification, as well as the necessary food cards for the many soldiers and sailors who flocked to Berlin at the first news of the revolution. All the troops from the different garrisons assembled here to receive orders, this time not from superiors, but from equals. Like magic the old-time discipline, the saluting of superiors, and the goose-stepping drill, had disappeared. Everyone was addressed by the term "*Du*," the term "*Sie*" being eliminated entirely. The scene at the police presidency, where from six to twelve clerks were vainly but courageously endeavoring to provide the thousands of hungry troops with the necessary credentials for securing food in the shops, was one of pandemonium. I managed to get into the crowd and worked my way finally to one of the desks, where I asked for a certificate of identification. The only question asked was regarding my business, and on replying that I was engaged in welfare work a certificate was immediately given me without further examination. This certificate, although on a mere scrap of paper, proved to be a veritable magic key which gave me admittance to all public buildings held by the revolutionists, including the War Ministry and the Parliament, and enabled me to pass all guards and barricaded sections of the city. Some months later new permits were issued, for it is evident that permits given as readily and as promiscuously as the above would soon result in manifold abuse.

Sunday afternoon the Tiergarten and Unter den Linden were one mass of humanity, strolling up and down the streets or fleeing precipitately when some stray shot was fired, or crowding up to the barricades across certain sections of the city in the hope of seeing any excitement that was taking place. Handbills of various kinds were distributed from autos which passed up and down the

streets, giving the people the latest information of progress made by the new Government. Early Sunday afternoon the first proclamation of the new president, Ebert, provisionally elected, was widely disseminated among the pedestrians. This proclamation read as follows:

"Berlin, November 9th. To the German citizens: The new Chancellor Ebert issues the following proclamation for the German citizens:

"Fellow-Citizens: The recent Chancellor, Prince Max of Baden, in agreement with all state secretaries, has entrusted me with the responsibility of the Chancellor's position. I am about to organize the new Government in cooperation with the various parties, and will report to the public very shortly the result of this organization. The new Government will be a people's government. Its efforts must be to bring to the German people peace in the quickest way possible and to strengthen the liberty which she has just gained.

"Fellow-citizens, I plead with you all for your hearty support in this difficult task which is ours. You know how the War has threatened the nourishment of our people, which is the first prerequisite for political life. The political transformation must under no circumstances disturb the provisions for the feeding of our peoples. It must be the first duty of all in both city and rural communities not to hinder the production of food supplies or their transportation to the cities. On the contrary, all must help to facilitate the same. Food scarcity means plundering and robbery, bringing suffering to all. The poorest will suffer the most. The industrial laborers will be hit hardest. He who in any way hinders the transportation of food supplies or other necessary supplies, or who in any way withholds and prevents their proper distribution sins most severely against the entire people. Fellow-citizens, I beg of you all most emphatically, leave the streets and strive for quiet and order."

Additional proclamations appeared during the day. One was addressed particularly to all officials and government employes, urging them to remain at their posts in order that no serious upheaval of the routine business of the country should result.

The desire of the Democrats to bring about the changes in the Government with as little disturbance and bloodshed as possible was very quickly thwarted. Unfortunately, the more radical elements included in the Independent Socialist Party and the new party known as the Spartacist which made its appearance about

this time were less sincere and, inflamed by the speeches of radical Russian Bolshevists, they strove to incite the people to a reign of terror similar to that which prevailed in Russia. It is to the credit of the Majority Socialist element and to the average intelligence of the German people that the Spartacists' agitation did not have larger results. One must remember that by the signing of the terms of the armistice Germany was forced to admit, whether she wished to or not, that she was the loser in the most disastrous war in the world's history. The complete overthrow of the old Government, built up through centuries of bloody history, and the inauguration of a new and inexperienced but more liberal form of government simultaneously with the close of the War greatly aggravated the situation. One must also remember the serious food and industrial conditions which prevailed. The thousands upon thousands of returning troops were crowding into the cities. Unable to find work, they very soon joined the vast ranks of the unemployed and furnished most fertile ground for agitation such as that conducted by the Spartacists. During the months of January and February, 1919, it was estimated that in Berlin alone there were over 350,000 unemployed, made up largely of returned troops.

CHAPTER XIX

READJUSTMENT TO THE NEW ORDER

Such were the beginnings of the German Revolution, which resulted in the complete overthrow of the monarchistic party and its replacement by a government full of promise for the development of an enduring democracy. In all garrisons, in prison camps and other troop centers, throughout the country the soldiers and laborers overthrew their superiors and assumed authority. In the prison camps the German guards drove their officers from the camp, took charge, threw open the gates of the prison camps, and welcomed the prisoners as their brothers. The result was that during these days one saw the varied uniforms of the hundreds of prisoners of war who flocked to the near-by cities to see the sights and in some cases to participate in the revolution which was taking place. In Berlin their numbers rose into the thousands. Many of them wandered aimlessly about the streets without food or shelter, reveling in the sensation of being free men once more; no one paid much attention to them beyond a curious inspection of their uniforms.

The Association at once recognized the need of some gathering place for these men and, after securing the necessary permission from the new authorities, we made arrangements for the opening up of a Foyer to serve as a lounging room and a place where light refreshments could be secured. The British and French military commissions, which came to Berlin soon after the signing of the armistice to arrange for the repatriation of the prisoners of war, cooperated most heartily with our plans and provided us with tea, biscuits, and other things, so that we could serve refreshments to the prisoners. With piano, phonograph, writing material, and tea, coffee, and biscuits on tap throughout the day, our Foyer became a popular rendezvous for the prisoners from the near-by camps. Announcements were sent out to these camps and in the respective embassies, opened up for the first time in four years, large placards were posted, telling of the location and the nature

of the Foyer and inviting all to make use of the establishment. A committee of women, chiefly Americans, was organized and with their help we were in a position to render real service to the prisoners of war, to whom it meant much to have the opportunity to talk with women who spoke their own language.

The Foyer, although a small one, was crowded to its utmost capacity from morning till night and there were days when we catered to over 1,700 men. It was kept in operation during the course of the three months required for the repatriation of the French, British, American, and Italian prisoners of war. Letters and post cards in large quantities were written in the place. The British and French prisoners invariably brought food supplies from the camp and ate their lunch in the Foyer, as it was the only place where they could get together in this manner. Something similar was attempted in Dresden and in Munich on behalf of the prisoners who came to those cities.

The lack of discipline and the attendant disorder in the camps which resulted from the complete lifting of the lid, so to speak, was especially hard on the men in the hospitals. Influenza was running its course through many of these and, with the overthrow of the superiors, doctors and medical attention no longer were provided. We did all in our power, in cooperation with the medical men among the prisoners themselves, to provide adequate medical supplies for the treatment of the invalids.

We needed abundant help during those days, for the various military missions called upon us time and again for assistance and advice as well as information regarding the location of prison camps and their organization. Among the American officers who were prisoners were three who had been in Y M C A service. On petitioning the Government, we received permission for their immediate release from the prison camp. All three of them came to Berlin, and in conjunction with the military commission visited the different prison camps, reporting back on the conditions which they found. In Bavaria our secretary was utilized extensively in arranging for the transportation and repatriation of many of the British invalid prisoners in the camps of that kingdom. Those were busy days for all of us, and yet days full of joy, because we knew that at last the hope of the men was fulfilled and they were homeward bound. Needless to say, it was difficult for them to be

patient, and call after call reached us for word as to when they were to be sent home.

Mr. Husband of the American Red Cross was early on the ground; through him all initial arrangements were made for the assembling of the American prisoners, preparatory to their repatriation. The majority of these were at Rastatt, but some 200 to 300 were scattered about the entire country and had to be assembled before they could be repatriated.

On November 26th I went to the American officers' camp at Villingen for a farewell visit before their repatriation. The following is quoted from a letter written that day:

"This morning I was up bright and early, returning to camp Villingen to say good-by to the American officers who were scheduled to leave the following morning, Tuesday, November 27th, at 5:25 A. M. After making arrangements for the disposal of the various supplies which we had furnished them, I hurried back to town in order to make my train for Rastatt. Just at present we are winding in and out through innumerable tunnels in the beautiful hill country of the Black Forest. The chug-chug of the engine indicates that we are going up a pretty steep grade. The picturesque farm cottages lend additional charm to the already magnificent scenery. This morning fleecy snowflakes fell listlessly, covering the entire landscape with a downy white mantle. All along the roads interminably long colonnades of troops are marching, in an effort to get out of the left Rhine zone and the neutral zone within the prescribed time limit of the armistice conditions. The spirit of the men is surprisingly happy for a retreating and defeated army. They are all singing '*In der Heimat, in der Heimat da gibt's ein Wiedersehen*' (In the homeland, in the homeland, there we shall meet again). It is evident that they are all mighty glad that the War is over, no matter what the outcome.

"All villages and cities along the line of march are elaborately decorated with paper bunting, flags, pine boughs, and the like. Arches with appropriate words of welcome and greeting mark the entrance to the villages and cities. The soldiers all have *boutonnières*, no doubt given them by fair damsels along the line. The whole scene seems like the triumphal march home of a victorious army which has scored a big success, rather than the

return from a lost war. Troops, wagons of every description, cannon, gun carriages, and kitchens are all decorated with flags and streamers; pine trees with paper flowers, etc., are very much in evidence; everywhere the red of the revolution predominates in the colors displayed. One sees none of the stiff goose-stepping discipline or of the salutation of the officers, formerly the common thing. Instead, there seems to be a new *camaraderie* and all-round good-fellowship. Officers, in fact, seem to have disappeared and distinctions of rank apparently exist no more. On the whole the troops seem happy and glad. The disappointment which the loss of the War would have normally occasioned seems completely obliterated by the victory achieved in internal affairs, liberty for the people."

On my return to Berlin from this trip to Rastatt I became conscious of the disorder and lack of discipline that had taken possession of the armies since the displacement of their austere officers. Frankfurt-am-Main seemed to be a center for all troops coming from the west front. From that point the troops were redistributed, by the innumerable railways entering that point, to the interior of Germany. All outgoing trains north and east were jammed to the limit with a struggling, scrambling mass of soldiers and their field baggage. One had to fight his way in order to get on one of these departing trains. Windows were broken and men lifted in through the windows—anything merely to get aboard. Thus it was that I was jammed into a compartment with twelve other persons and baggage galore. No attempt was made to collect railway tickets, for it was impossible for any individual to get through one of the cars. The trip required forty-eight hours, though in normal times I had made the same trip in twelve hours. Such was the condition of the railways in these days when the thousands of troops were returning from the front, all of them anxious to get home just as quickly as possible and to discard the much hated uniform which they had been compelled to wear during the past four trying years.

It was during these days that the respective military commissions of the Allied countries came into Germany to arrange for the repatriation of their prisoners of war. British, French, Italians, Belgians, and Americans were all looked after. The Russians, however, who had suffered most, were still neglected and their

condition was most heart-rending. One of our secretaries who visited the camps of Sprottau, Lamsdorf, and Neuhammer, where large numbers of tubercular Russians were congregated, wrote at the time that the sight of their suffering was unendurable. There seemed to be no mercy shown these men, unfortunate victims of a system for which they had been in no way responsible.

In other camps the conditions were most chaotic. All prisoners from working commandos, when they heard the news of possible early repatriation, flocked immediately to their parent camps, fearing that they would be forgotten if they remained on the working detachments. The Russians, believing that they, too, were to be repatriated, swarmed to the camps and by their overwhelming numbers threatened to crowd out the other nationalities. The camps, needless to say, did not have food supplies for this sudden influx of thousands of men, and shelter in all was entirely inadequate. Efforts were at once made to get the British and most of the French prisoners in the north of Germany to the Baltic ports for transportation to England and France and those in the south of Germany shipped by railroad to Switzerland and from there on to France and their homes. To prevent suffering, however, it was necessary to arrange at these points proper housing facilities for the men. This was impossible at the time, and the next best plan was to transform some of the prison camps near the outgoing points into concentration camps for prisoners prior to their departure. A special transport service was immediately arranged between German and Danish ports, but the transport facilities from Denmark to England were entirely inadequate, so that it was necessary in Germany to slow down the transportation of the prisoners in order to prevent congestion in Copenhagen.

At Danzig, 20,000 to 30,000 Russian prisoners, maddened by hunger and the desire to get home which had been so long frustrated, stormed and took possession of four of the ships in the harbor which had been secured by the British military commission for the transportation of British prisoners. The situation with reference to the Russians was further aggravated by the fact that Russia refused to permit these prisoners access to Russia. The result was that the prisoners who had left camp and started



Gymnastics by British Prisoners, Göttingen



School for Russians, Worms

home were congregated in the east of Germany where they became a serious menace to local law and order; but, worse, many were victims of starvation, for there was no food for them. Alarm calls were received by the War Ministry from towns in the far east of Germany asking for troops to protect the towns in question from the marauding bands of these prisoners let loose who, maddened by hunger, stopped at nothing to secure food. In many of the camps where authority had been usurped by the German guards who had driven their superiors from the camp our secretaries were appealed to for assistance, not only by the guards, but by the prisoners as well. Without the proper leadership, organization was quickly lost and chaotic conditions arose in the camps. Thus it was that our representatives were frequently called in and literally requested to take complete charge of the camp in question, for prisoners and German guards alike seemed utterly helpless to cope with the situation.

As the days and weeks went on and little evidence of immediate repatriation was apparent, the prisoners became dangerously impatient. It was not an easy task to arrange for the repatriation of several hundred thousands of prisoners of war scattered throughout Germany, but obviously each prisoner expected to be the first one to be sent home, and when this did not occur he made trouble. Usually the Germans were blamed for the delay by the prisoners, who failed to realize that the Germans had little if anything to say regarding the matter, and forgot the bigness and difficulty of the task involved. Thus it was that the French prisoners in one camp sent an ultimatum to the authorities of the near-by town, to the effect that if their repatriation was not begun within twenty-four hours they would revolt and storm the city. The town telegraphed to the War Ministry for troops. The War Ministry in turn appealed to us to send our representative, in the hope that he might appease the prisoners and explain the situation.

The fact that we were called upon illustrates how utterly helpless the authorities were. We must remember that during the days of the revolution the transference of the supreme command to an organization in charge of Soldiers and Workmen's Councils took place not only in the prison camps and garrisons, but also in the War Ministry, Foreign Office, and similar headquarters. Those who had usurped power soon realized that they were not equal to

the situation and that they were unqualified to solve the many complications involved in such positions, and one by one the former officers who had been expelled were petitioned to return—not, however, in their former capacity, but as advisory executives, final authority to rest with the representative of the Soldiers' or Workmen's Council who had been placed in charge. It was interesting to note the developments along this line. Though immediately after the overthrow of the Government all official documents were signed only by the representative of the Workmen's or Soldiers' Council, it was not long before the former officers who had been called in in an advisory capacity were also requested to sign all orders issued, and soon after it frequently occurred that orders of this character were signed by the former official only. On one of the permits issued to me during these days the stamp of the War Ministry of the old Government was employed, but some loyal revolutionist office clerk had painstakingly crossed with a red pencil the royal eagle and the word "royal" on the impression made on my permit.

A letter written at this time describes the existing conditions:

December 7th.

"Last night and today have been critical so far as the local political situation is concerned. A shooting fracas last night between followers of the so-called Spartacist group and the present government troops resulted in some twenty-seven deaths. Today word was spread that the Spartacist group had called a general strike. Machine guns were mounted in all prominent places in Unter den Linden. Armored motor trucks hurried up and down the streets, which were patroled by armed squads and detachments of soldiers and sailors. About noon there were a number of processions made up of employes from different factories in and about Berlin, but nowhere were they of any considerable dimensions, and all were most quiet and orderly, so that no serious disturbances resulted. Trouble, however, is expected tomorrow, in view of the large public meetings which have been scheduled by the various political parties that have sprung into prominence since the revolution.

"Among the interesting phenomena which have appeared since the revolution are the innumerable debating groups that gather

in the streets everywhere. Two individuals will usually begin to discuss the situation and immediately others crowd around and join in the discussion, which usually becomes extremely heated before many minutes pass. At times one is led to believe that these groups have been systematically arranged by the Spartacists as a means for carrying on their propaganda, for invariably the debate is an argument on the pros and cons of the principles of the Spartacists, and usually ends in favor of the individual who represents those principles. Needless to say, the conservative Junker or Pan-Germanist is utterly out of sympathy and opposes to the limit the radical ideas of the Spartacists, and where such an individual gets into an argument with a Spartacist the debate is carried on at a feverish temperature.

"Another interesting phenomenon is the handbill and poster nuisance which has developed since the revolution. The streets are littered with a hundred and one different types of handbills issued by the different parties. During the last few days aeroplanes have been used for distributing these over the city. Public buildings are plastered as high as can be reached with glaring placards announcing public meetings of the different political parties; even the former palace of the Emperor is not respected.

"The troops that started out from Berlin are to return from the west front the end of next week and further trouble is expected. On the whole, the soldiers are back of the present Government, for it is they who largely caused the overthrow of the old regime, and one is hopeful that the common sense of the reasonable people will be sufficiently powerful to prevent more serious trouble. The food situation is bad, but not critical as yet. Naturally, everyone is counting strongly on the importation of supplies from the United States. It is truly remarkable with what childish trust and confidence the German people (not the Government) now look to the U. S. A. to come to the rescue. It presents a great opportunity to instill the American spirit into this people just coming out from a state of bondage and beginning to stretch its muscles, as it were, feeling the invigorating touch of freedom and liberty. One has wonderful opportunities to watch the development of the democratic spirit in Germany these days. Just at present she is in a plastic condition with any number of potters, each of whom is endeavoring to give the future Government of

the country its own characteristic mold. Rabid socialism, approximating the worst kind of anarchism, is feverishly trying to get the upper hand. Placards, processions, mass meetings, calling of strikes, and violence are her methods. The more sane socialism is expending its energies in counteracting the dangerous agitation of the above Bolshevik group, and thereby neglecting or forfeiting the opportunity to work constructively because of its preoccupation.

"The monarchists are assuming the 'I told you so' attitude. One frequently hears the Berlin citizen on street cars and street corners grumbling about the chaotic conditions that prevail. Then one hears one of the monarchists reply with words something to this effect: 'That is what you get in a democracy. It is what you wanted.' The result is that unconsciously in the hearts of many there is a longing for the old-time law and order, the security, prosperity, and the like which it must be conceded the old form of government gave the people. This dissatisfaction is being capitalized by the nationalistic press.

"The returning soldiers are siding with the present Government, but their support is a matter of time. Internal disorder which the present Government seems unable to solve—the many soldiers' councils are like the proverbial 'too many cooks spoiling the broth'—is likely to result in food troubles, at least in the big cities, for hungry soldiers are always a menace to any community or country. Spiritual values and spiritual terms have been crowded out by the material interests. The armistice deals with the material—so much land to be evacuated, so many submarines, so many guns, so many locomotives and railroad cars, so many millions indemnity—and here within the country all centers around the food question and the danger to personal property from the general disorganization. Taxation, confiscation by the Government of property, nullification of the war loan certificates and bonds—these are the subjects occupying the minds of the people. Discussion of the reconstruction of the country is all on material lines, dealing with such subjects as the resumption of foreign trade, industrial rejuvenation, importation of raw products, railway reconstruction, and methods for increasing the food production of the country. The spiritual view of life so essential for a healthy people is thus being crowded out and rele-

gated to the background by the seemingly more pressing and urgent material interests.

"The German Church with her German God has been dealt a deathblow by the revolution, just as other feudal conceptions which were prevalent here up to November first of this year have been exterminated, I hope for all time. At present there is no church here worthy of the name. The fall of the Kaiser and the system of Prussian militarism of which he was the exponent automatically necessitated the fall of the German Church, which was part and parcel of the system the Kaiser created. For the Church of the Universal God which endures and will arise newborn out of the present chaos, it is good that the old is dead. It may be of interest to know that during the War the pastors of the old German Church invariably received from their superiors the Bible text on which they were to preach the following Sunday, and which, especially in the case of nationalistic themes, was accompanied by a suggested outline for handling it. It is thus evident how efficiently the Church served the State as a mouthpiece. That the old order changeth and a new order shall arise, seems to be true not only in the political life of Germany, but also in its spiritual life. Just at present, however, the situation seems utterly hopeless, for leadership is lacking and a new church will be greatly handicapped by the prevalent prejudice against the old one.

"Freedom of the press and freedom of public meetings have given the forces of evil free reign, which they are utilizing to the fullest capacity. Last night I went down Friedrich Street, the café and cabaret center, and came away shuddering. It was a filthy lane through a slough of immorality. The War's four years of concentration on the material interests of the body, with little if any strengthening spiritual influence, have resulted in a frightful moral degeneration. It is to be hoped that a reaction may soon set in. Consciousness of the awful depths in which the nation has wallowed must bring sooner or later a feeling of abhorrence, contrition, repentance, and a search for the power which will bring freedom from evil and the strength to overcome. Let us hope that this reawakening may soon take place and that there may be wise, sympathetic, and loving leadership when it occurs."

The following is quoted from a letter written December 28th:

"Tomorrow afternoon we are arranging a little Christmas celebration in a Berlin hospital where there are some 300 wounded prisoners, including two Americans and sixty-five Britishers. The American and British generals who are here as representative heads of the two repatriation commissions are both planning to attend the celebration. Our Y M C A rooms for the prisoners are proving utterly inadequate so far as space is concerned. Sunday over 1,800 men visited the place and over 2,000 cups of tea were served. It is not easy to handle so many in quarters that will seat only fifty men at any one time. We had planned to take a much larger place, but there seemed to be difficulties in the way, especially in view of the short time this service will be necessary. As it is, the American Red Triangle has made its first official appearance here in Berlin. It is remarkable what a heterogeneous crowd of prisoners come to our Foyer—British, French, Italians, Roumanians, Serbs, Senegalese. Our ladies' committee is becoming most enthusiastic and is doing excellent work. From three to five hundred letters are written a day by the prisoners who come to the Foyer. The letters are forwarded through official couriers of the various commissions to the homelands of the men, and hence reach their destination much more quickly than would otherwise be possible."

CHAPTER XX

SIGNS OF SOCIAL DISINTEGRATION

Meantime events continued to take place in rapid succession, which all had a marked effect on the development of the new German Government. Freedom of speech and of the press gave opportunity for all the radical elements to carry on extensive agitation and propaganda.

The *"Rote Fahne"* (Red Flag) appeared as the official organ of the Spartacists, the *"Freiheit"* (Freedom—Liberty) of the Independent Socialist Party. An especially licentious paper was the pink sheet known as the *"Galgen"* (Gallows), which made its appearance under license of the freedom of the press that was granted as a result of the revolution.

It soon became evident that the Russians during their short period of diplomatic relations with Germany had utilized the time in sowing the seeds of anarchy and Bolshevism throughout the country. The Spartacist Party had appeared with the revolution and was proving a dangerous menace to the whole cause of the new German Republic. Strike after strike occurred, largely incited by this party, each with its demands for higher wages and shorter hours. The new Government was struggling to maintain its own under trying and difficult circumstances. The armistice terms had proved far more severe than anticipated. As talk about the peace terms progressed it was realized that they would be unusually harsh, from the standpoint of the Germans. Food conditions left much to be desired. Disorganization resulting from the overthrow threatened the supply of food for the large cities. Strenuous efforts were inaugurated to maintain this supply; these were fairly successful. Thus not once throughout the revolution was I refused my weekly loaf of bread on presentation of my card.

The week following the proclamation of the German revolution I called at the police office of the precinct in which I lived, to report as usual as an enemy alien. The clerk in charge simply waved my papers aside, remarking that such red tape was no

longer necessary; this was one of many evidences of how quickly the people gave up old, long-accustomed regulations for the new freedom which was possible under the new regime. The pendulum was swinging from one extreme to the other.

Immediately after the armistice the troops scattered for their homes. In the Entente papers one spoke of the demobilization of the German armies. Aside from the last few divisions to cross the Rhine in accordance with the armistice terms there was no such thing as organized demobilization; it was one wild pell-mell rush, each soldier getting home as best he could and as quickly as possible. Berlin was swamped by the overflow. Incoming trains loaded to their utmost capacity brought thousands additional. The community kitchens were requisitioned to provide for these men. The garrisons were thrown open to provide night quarters and other accommodations. The Government sought to give each man his papers of release from army service, as well as to provide him with the necessary food cards to carry him on a week or so until he was located in his home or permanent community. Efforts were made to provide each soldier with a civilian suit of clothes, but clothing had become unusually scarce during the last years of the War, so that many were turned away or were given a uniform rather than the civilian suit desired. As a result, the field gray of the German uniform became the color most in vogue. The large bolts of army cloth in the quartermaster's department were cut up and offered for sale, in order to provide not only men, but women as well, with sufficient clothing for the coming winter. Women's coats, men's suits and ulsters, and children's suits and cloaks, were all of the same gray-green color.

On December 24th I wrote as follows:

"This morning I was witness of a real battle, with machine guns and large caliber cannon stationed all around our office and aimed at the royal palace. Some 600 revolutionary sailors who had become disgruntled at the pay given them by the Government they had pledged to support revolted and, after capturing various prominent officials whom they held as hostages for the fulfilment of their demands, intrenched themselves in the royal palace and the royal stables.



Salesroom of Handicraft Made by Prisoners at Cottbus



Basket Weavers in Handicraft Department, Cottbus

"The cannonading began at eight A. M., just as I approached our office, continuing until ten-thirty, when a truce was declared. The palace is pretty badly shot up, especially the main entrance on the Unter den Linden side. There were several killed and wounded, although one does not know the losses of the sailors. The decisive and firm action taken by the government troops in putting an end to this disturbance is encouraging. I hope it means an end to similar fanatical attempts at anarchy on the part of a few. No doubt there will be scathing criticism of the Government from those whose sentimental sympathy has been aroused by the death of the sailors. This will be fanned into a flame by the Spartacist crowd, who are fighting the Government at every step. The air is tense with expectancy as to immediate developments. The fighting has somehow completely destroyed all Christmas spirit. It all seems so horrible and absurd that now that the War is over internal strife should begin. Possibly it may mean the occupation of Berlin by Entente troops, which, by the way, many Germans frankly admit they desire."

December 29th.

"Today was a momentous one. The various political parties had scheduled mass demonstrations, the Social Democrats as a protest against the use of force by the Spartacist and sailor group, and the latter as a condemnation of the murderous action of the Social Democratic Party, at present the party in power. The objective of the demonstrations was lost in the extravagant efforts put forth by both parties to secure the greater number of people to parade with them. The Spartacist group had the advantage so far as drawing cards were concerned, for they had scheduled as a feature of their demonstration the burial of the victims of the battle last Tuesday.

"Naturally, the deep undertow of the whole is serious and of world-wide consequence. What one saw, however, was like the surface spray which accompanies the undertow. At present the people are in the drunken stage of newly won liberties, and excess and abuse occur. It is hard to conceive that conditions and events such as occurred here today are really possible in this country. At times one becomes dubious of the possibility of recuperation and resurrection. Everything points toward disintegration, ruin, and

stagnation of industry. Danger of Bolshevism exists, but I believe the common sense of the majority will carry the day."

January 1st.

"On all the public buildings one still sees the flags which were so proudly hoisted some two months ago as an emblem of the success of the revolution. Now they are all tattered and torn. The winds and storms of the past months have beaten them into shreds, in some cases nothing remaining but a few strands to identify them as one-time flags. To me they are very typical and symbolic of the present state of the once proud Germany. She, too, has been violently buffeted about the past two months. Defeated on the outside most disastrously, forsaken by all her former allies, torn and battered by internal dissension and disorganization, she lies prostrate, an unrecognizable remnant of her former self. One wonders whether she will be able to survive and ever to recuperate.

"No doubt you have formulated an exaggerated picture of the conditions which prevail here. True, they are bad when one compares them with conditions in former days, but on the whole life and business and industry to a certain degree continue more or less normally. Up to date I have never been compelled to walk to the office and have never been turned away from the bakery when I went to buy my weekly loaf of bread, even during the fever-heated days of the revolution. Nor have I experienced in any way additional inconveniences other than those which have always prevailed in the past year or two.

"In the east the advance of the Poles is assuming threatening proportions. The newspapers even talk of an advance on Berlin. Internally the respective provinces or former kingdoms are fighting for independence and separation from Prussia. Whether a United States of Germany is possible seems problematical. The Bolshevik propaganda continued to sow seeds of dissension and social disintegration. At times it seems like an epidemic whose ravages the Government is powerless to stop, and from the manner in which it is taking hold here one is forced to question whether it will not spread over the entire world. The Government in power here must exert radical, energetic efforts immediately if it is to prevent the spread of Bolshevism in Germany.

January 3rd.

"On New Year's Eve all the waiters in the hotels and restaurants and cafés went on strike. You can imagine what that meant for the pleasure-seekers that night. The waiters are still on strike. It seems strange to see all the cafés closed and empty where ordinarily so much life centers. It is just another sign of the times.

"On January 19th, a Sunday by the way, the first general election of the new democracy, with equal suffrage for all men and women of age, is scheduled to take place. At present a most active campaign is being carried on by the respective political parties in the field. Placards and bills announcing the platforms of the various parties are being circulated in avalanche heaps. Political meetings are the order of the day. An interesting series of meetings is thus being held by the respective parties to educate the women regarding the ins and outs of the voting process. One wonders what influence the women's vote will exert here in the land where the wife is referred to in the law books as the 'housekeeper' and where she has usually been regarded as something inferior to the man.

"One who is not witness of the disintegration which has occurred here will with difficulty conceive of what has actually taken place in the land where discipline and obedience were the order of the day. Street peddlers by the hundreds line the sidewalks on all the prominent streets selling the 'real' (humbug) type of goods, most of which I presume represents booty brought back from the front or taken in the many robberies which are occurring in the city. Cigarettes, bonbons, soap, shoestrings, matches, sausages, cakes—everything imaginable is sold by these street peddlers. Beggars are abundant and no doubt include many fictitious soldiers who, by wearing a soldier's uniform or having a leg or arm bandaged, appeal to the charity of the passers-by and invariably succeed in securing help from them. It is reported that many of these street beggars often obtain as high as 300 marks a day in small sums which passers-by throw to them in sympathy for their apparent disablement and suffering. As in Vienna, so in Berlin many a woman appears on the street corners most shabbily dressed, holding a child in her arms and perhaps one by the hand at her side, and in this way

arouses the sympathy of passers-by. I understand that recently the Government has taken steps to put an end to this malicious type of begging. It is all the more surprising in Berlin, for in peace times one never saw a beggar, and rarely a promiscuous street peddler such as has become the order of the day since the revolution.

"Similarly, at all railway stations official baggage men as well as official taxis and cabs were formerly available. These have given way to a vagabond type; busses, wagons rigged up with board seats, and every imaginable type of vehicle, are present, their owners yelling at the incoming travelers in the hope of getting them as passengers. Autos and cabs may be scarce, but every other kind of rig is available.

"Tobacco is almost a minus quantity now. Perhaps that fact accounts for the presence of old men and women who go up and down the streets, especially at those places where the cars stop. They carry little dirty gray bags and one sees them every now and then stooping to pick up something. On closer investigation one discovers that they are collecting all the discarded cigar stubs and cigarette ends. Involuntarily I think of the book of poems entitled 'Pipe Dreams,' and of the visions in the blue smoke from the cigars or smoking tobacco made from this abominably filthy refuse, for the cigar stubs reappear in resplendent cigars or packages of smoking tobacco.

"Groups—at times they assume the proportions of hordes—of unkempt and ill-clad men, are frequently seen; they represent part of the thousands without work. According to the latest statistics there are at present approximately 100,000 men in Berlin without work. You know enough of big city life to realize what a problem that means, and as February approaches food is becoming increasingly scarce and all fear trouble from these men. The city, through the various labor organizations, is paying all unemployed men a rather high stipendium during their non-employment, the rate depending upon the size of the man's family. A man with six children is thus able to secure thirteen marks a day, whereas if he worked he would at most get twenty marks for his services. It thus happens that many a man prefers to accept the municipal stipendium and by street peddling on his own part as well as that of his children he is able to get far

more than if he were regularly employed. It is estimated that Berlin alone in the course of one month paid out as high as 20,000,000 marks to so-called unemployed laborers in its precincts. The municipal government has endeavored to modify this pension scheme for the non-employed, realizing that it is fostering vagrancy rather than proving a help to the community, but the threatening attitude of the unemployed when a proposed reduction in the remuneration is made is sufficient to cause the continuation of the compensation on the original basis.

"With the growing scarcity of meat supplies such as beef, mutton, and pork, goats had been drafted into the service and large numbers were raised and slaughtered in order to supplement the meat supply. For the manufacture of sausage goats as well as fowl of all kinds were utilized. Sausages thus made were sold at fabulous prices and only the well-to-do could afford to buy them, although many of the poorer class with no other meat supply available would purchase them in spite of the high prices. As the War continued the sausage manufacturers had increasing difficulty in securing adequate supplies of fowl, goat, and rabbit meat. No doubt the realization that such meat was scarce was responsible for the rumors that were circulated, to the effect that dog, cat, and even infant meat was being used in the manufacture of sausage. Such malicious libel was resented most vigorously by the goat meat sausage manufacturers, who felt called upon to go so far as to offer a public explanation in the newspapers denying the report that they were using dog, cat, and infant meat in the manufacture of their sausage. This appeared in the newspapers as a half-page announcement.

"Clothing and shoes are sadly lacking. Most men are still wearing their field uniforms and overcoats, in some cases slightly remodeled to give a civilian appearance.

"In my last letter I wrote you about the tattered and torn flags. Apparently someone else has also noticed them, for today an official notice was published in which the people were urged to remove them from the buildings.

"The two socialistic parties have declared war against one another. Up to date they have been united, and largely because of the union have had sufficient strength to accomplish the overthrow which resulted during the revolutionary days. At the

present time there are three such parties, the Social Democrats, the Independent Social Democrats, the group which has broken away from the socialistic block, and the Spartacists or Bolshevik element. The latter have declared their intention of preventing and breaking up the general election scheduled for the 19th, so it is possible we shall have trouble prior to that date. The old Centrum Party, clerical, has reappeared as the Christian People's Party, and is trying by this clever ruse to align the Protestants with them, claiming that the country for its salvation needs united action on the part of all Christians. As a matter of fact, the platform of the Centrum Party is retained in spite of the changed name. In all probability the Social Democrats will win out, although the internal strife with the Independents may cause a split in the party and give the victory at the elections to some one of the old conservative parties."

CHAPTER XXI

FIGHTING IN THE STREETS OF BERLIN

I wrote a letter on January 6th as follows:

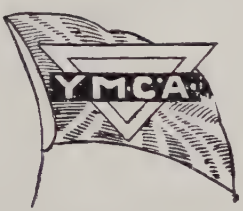
"Today serious trouble has been brewing here, trouble which I fear will spread throughout the country if not throughout the world, now that it is gaining such marked headway here. Immediate and drastic measures must be resorted to if this is to be prevented. Bolshevism made its debut here today, not as a modest debutante, but boldly, insolently, full of ominous threats to depose the present social order and to inaugurate what is sure to prove a reign of terror. One has been aware for weeks that Bolshevik propaganda has been fanatically, quietly at work, sowing seeds of dissension and rebellion; but those who should have been most vigilantly checkmating every move of this dangerous element apparently failed to secure adequate resources or were ignorant of the possible dangers.

"The present crisis originated on Saturday, when the Government in power issued an order calling for the immediate removal from office of the police president of Berlin. It seems that the president had utilized his position as a means to further the Bolshevik propaganda of his party, the Spartacist group, and what is more, did so with funds contributed by the Russian Bolsheviki. The Government's order was insolently ignored and the occasion made the most of by the Spartacists or Reds, as they are known here. The Reds immediately scheduled a number of big protest mass meetings for the following day at noon. The utmost was done to arouse thoroughly the dissatisfied elements of the masses, of whom there are many, and to incite them to strike and to armed revolt against the so-termed high-handed action of the Government. Needless to say, thousands upon thousands of the people turned out. It is easy in these days of unrest to drum up a large crowd on the most trivial provocation. After the speeches a parade was started to give vent to the pent-up

feelings of the crowd, fanned into flame by the very adept speakers whom the Spartacists had employed. The whole culminated in the evening in a series of armed attacks on all conservative and government newspaper printing establishments, and their subsequent possession by the Spartacists. This morning no other papers than those of the Reds were to be had. Even the official Wolf's Telegraph Bureau had been occupied, so that all the news from Berlin for the immediate future will be of the radical Red or Bolshevik type. All the morning issues of the few papers which appeared contained big headlines calling out the soldiers and factory hands to assemble at eleven A. M. in the Sieges-Allee, where they are to form a procession and march down Unter den Linden as a protest against the Government. The objectives of the whole are the overthrow of the Government and the prevention of the election for the National Assembly scheduled for the 19th of January. Apparently as soon as the government party, the Majority Socialists, who are frequently referred to as the Whites, learned of this Spartacist coup they immediately got busy and by telephone or other available means, for they did not have access to the newspapers, called a counter demonstration to assemble in front of the Chancellor's residence in the Wilhelmstrasse; and thus the stage was set for trouble.

"As eleven o'clock approached, everything became tense with excitement. Intuitively one felt that trouble must surely result when the two groups of demonstrators met, as they were bound to do in the course of their processions. The atmosphere seemed hot with the determination that was evident on both sides. Rarely have I seen such masses of humanity as those which gathered in Wilhelmstrasse and which continued to come from all directions, in response to the Government's call for a counter demonstration. There seemed no end to them. They came in groups, each with placards, some indicating the firm of which they were employes and others announcing their support of the Government. I mingled with the crowd, in order to sense the whole more fully. Everywhere small groups were gathered about men and women who were hotly debating pro and con the political situation. Here, too, I saw W——, an American newspaper man, with three assistants and a moving-picture machine on the lookout for some good pictures, of which there were a plenty.

ASSAULT AT ARMS



RUHLEBEN PHYSICAL CULTURE ASSOCIATION

DEFENCE

RELIANCE

10PE PROGRAMME 10PE

1. EXHIBITION OF BALL PUNCHING _____ MR. J. SHARBERG.
2. WRESTLING _____ MR. GOSNOLD V. MR. G. CURRIE.
3. ~ FENCING ~

1.	MR. G. W. ANDREWS	V. MR. G. C. PETHER.
2.	MR. W. E. D'ALBERT	V. MR. H. S. HATFIELD.
3.	MR. H. S. HATFIELD	V. MR. G. W. ANDREWS.
4.	MR. G. C. PETHER	V. MR. W. E. D'ALBERT.

BOUTS OF THREE MINUTES EACH.

BOXING.

AMATEUR SCHOOL OF BOXING & RUHLEBEN BOXING CLUB.

1.	MR. J. SHARBERG	V. MR. F. FAIRCLOTH. - R.B.C.
2.	MR. G. SMITH	V. MR. F. DINSE. - R.B.C.
3.	MR T. SULLIVAN JNR.	V. MR. M. LONGLEY. - A.S.B.
4.	MR R.H. PEDDIE	V. MR. J. DONOGHUE. - A.S.B.
5.	MR. E. WILLIAMS	V. MR. W. MAURICE. - R.B.C.
6.	MR. H. COPELAND	V. MR. E. HERLIHY. - R.B.C.
7.	MR. W. HEWITT	V. MR. E. FARMER. - A.S.B.
8.	MR J. CORNWALL.	V. MR. F. WILDE. - A.S.B.

TWO ROUNDS OF ONE MINUTE EACH, LAST ROUND TWO MINUTES.

M.C. _____ MR. TOM SULLIVAN.

COMMENCE AT 6·15.

THE TELEGRAPH PRESS, BAR. S.

"In Unter den Linden the Reds were marching toward the Sieges-Allee, their assembling place. Placards, most of them very crudely made and predominantly red in color, were displayed throughout the marching columns. There seemed to be more women than men in the processions of both parties, significant of the fact that the women are playing an important role in the whole disturbance and without doubt will be an important political factor henceforth in Germany. Yells were repeatedly heard, such as 'Down with the bloodhounds, Ebert and Scheidemann,' and 'Hoch Liebknecht' from the Reds, and 'Down with Liebknecht' and 'Hoch die Regierung' as answering echoes from the Whites. Shortly before reaching the Brandenburg Gate a group of the Reds burned a large number of handbills which were being circulated by the Whites. This was very formally done and one was reminded of the burning of the papal bull of excommunication by Luther. Toward eleven-thirty the assembled throngs of both parties formed in definite procession and started their march, the Reds coming from the Sieges-Allee through the Brandenburg Arch, down Unter den Linden, passing the Hotel Adlon; the Whites approaching from Leipziger Street down Wilhelmstrasse toward Unter den Linden. Trouble was unavoidable whenever the two lines of marchers should meet at the crossing of Unter den Linden and Wilhelmstrasse. I luckily had a good vantage point at this place and so witnessed the whole scene which ensued.

"The Reds reached the corner first and continued down Unter den Linden. As the Whites approached they stopped, for a time unable to break through the marching columns of the Reds; but the crowds pushing on from behind soon caused a break in the march of the Reds. Shouting, swearing, scrambling, and hand-to-hand fighting ensued, and the White line succeeded in severing the Red column and continuing its march down Wilhelmstrasse. However, it was not long before the Reds, undaunted, forced their way through the White column and continued their march triumphantly. Again the Whites forced their way through; another fisticuff fight was developing when suddenly a group of Reds appeared with raised rifles, apparently meaning business and prepared to shoot if any further opposition from the Whites was experienced. Needless to say the crowds broke up and fled

precipitately in all directions, and I among them. No actual shooting occurred at this juncture. It certainly was a dramatic situation, to say the very least.

"The procession of the Reds continued throughout the early afternoon, marching down Unter den Linden to the palace, then turning to the right and on to the police presidency in Alexander Place. At three-thirty in the afternoon the procession was still on the move, so you will have some conception of the large number of participants. One saw many boys sixteen and seventeen years of age, as well as men, armed with guns. Apparently they had had access to some large stores of ammunition and arms and anyone expressing sympathy with the Reds received without further question both gun and munition. The weeks following revealed what a dangerous practice this was, for inexperienced youngsters upon the slightest provocation would utilize the guns in their possession.

"The procession during the afternoon became more ominous and threatening, as the numbers in its wake increased through reenforcements from the suburban factory sections. All types of the masses were there, released soldiers in large number, the unemployed, women galore, respectable looking people and the riffraff of society, old and young, telephone girls, railway men—all were there. Occasionally auto trucks filled with armed soldiers and civilians raced through the streets, causing everyone to scurry in all directions to avoid being run over. The number of these trucks rapidly increased, some having mounted machine guns, others with men lying on the dashboards and mudguards with guns pointed straight ahead, prepared to shoot upon the least evidence of resistance. About two P. M. word was circulated that the Reds had won the day, that the State Bank, the post office, the telegraph—in fact, all public service institutions were in their hands. Toward three I again walked down Unter den Linden to the Brandenburg Arch; along the avenue people had collected in small groups. In each case some bold spirit was debating the situation with some other person who often proved to be a woman. One had the impression that these debating teams were planted by the Reds, for invariably the debates ended with a decision in favor of the party representing the Reds. If such was actually the case one must give it to the Reds for putting across a very

clever and effective educational campaign, which is serving their propaganda purposes most admirably.

"As I passed through the Arch on my way home the boom of cannon shots was heard from the direction of the palace. From Potsdammer Place machine gun and rifle fire was heard. I had hoped to ride home through the Tiergarten, but the few cars still running were so overcrowded it was impossible to board them. Thus I was compelled to walk home. In the Tiergarten everything was wonderfully quiet and peaceful, and one forgot the trouble and fighting of the masses back there in the city. True, every now and then the distant crack of a rifle, the muffled ta-ta-ta-ta of a machine gun or the boom of a cannon reminded one that all was not peace—in fact, that there was no peace, that history was in the making and as usual the blood of God's children was being used to write it. One involuntarily asked himself what the morrow would bring. I have speculated considerably as to whether the Entente will come in, for it seems that they alone can stem and check the tidal wave of Bolshevism which is apparently sweeping over Germany, threatening everything before it, gaining momentum as it advances, and likely to spread from Germany throughout the world if not brought to an immediate halt. Socialization and democratization seem to be the program and slogan of the day, but we must prevent them from becoming terrorism, disintegration, and destruction of society.

"Special issues of one or two of the government newspapers appeared tonight, apparently having been printed in some suburban press not occupied by the Reds. In these the announcement is made that the Government will resort to every available force to down the new insurrection. The determined resistance of the Reds means that much bloodshed will result in consequence."

January 9th.

"Wednesday evening of a most eventful day and one that bodes little good for the remainder of the week. Conditions have been going from bad to worse and today one was not sure of his life on the streets. Yesterday was more or less a repetition of the scenes which took place on Monday and of which I wrote in my last letter. There was considerably more shooting, however, during the day and especially toward evening. At four o'clock

some heavy fighting began around the Brandenburg Arch. I happened to be bound for home on a car which usually passes the Arch, but luckily the shooting began a few minutes before we reached the corner so that we could still switch off into a side street and get home in a roundabout way. Rifles, machine guns, and cannon were used. In the morning when I went to the office I saw that machine guns manned by troops had been stationed on top of the Arch, and at once I surmised that trouble would occur here during the day. In the evening the Reds attempted to storm Anhalter Railway Station, which was guarded by government troops. They were repulsed, however, with rather heavy losses which, according to the latest papers, amounted to more than sixty killed, the number of wounded not being given. Similar fighting occurred around the Potsdammer Station, which was also guarded by government troops in order to protect the large stores of food supplies in the freight stations here. The newspaper printing establishments are still in the hands of the Reds, so that one has only their side of the story in the papers.

"Yesterday the elevated trains were not running because all the stations were held by the Reds. Fortunately, street car service continued, but today the situation is reversed. The street car people have gone on strike for higher wages. I think they are demanding seventeen marks a day. But, fortunately again, the elevated train service was resumed. This evening on the way home in the elevated train considerable shooting occurred about the Friedrich Street station just as we pulled in. After a few moments' delay we proceeded, but not far, for we came to a standstill again between Friedrich Street and the Lehrter Railway Station. Apparently there was heavy fighting going on at the latter place. It was rather exciting to be sitting in the train midway between two stations with shooting taking place on all sides. After some fifteen minutes, during which time there was constant shooting, we again proceeded, learning as we reached the station that the train going in the opposite direction had been hit several times by stray bullets. Needless to say, I was glad when I reached home safely. Throughout the afternoon there was almost continuous shooting going on everywhere. An innovation in the scene was the appearance of a number of hydroplanes which circled over the city, dropping a large number of

handbills put out by the marine soldiers in which the people were urged to shed no more blood. Such measures, of course, are useless. Up to date the casualties, wounded and killed, probably exceed 250.

"This afternoon Unter den Linden from Friedrich Street past the Brandenburg Arch, the streets about the Reichstag, and also Wilhelmstrasse from Unter den Linden to Leipziger, were closed. It seems that the Reds were shooting from the roofs of the houses in this territory and throwing hand grenades into the crowds of pedestrians in the streets below. In Unter den Linden three men were killed by a hand grenade. The troops called in by the Government have been stationed around this territory and are gradually closing in on the Reds, who are making a most determined resistance. Tonight the water supply is shut off, at least here in Charlottenburg; I trust not for long, for you can realize what terrible conditions will arise in a large city when the water supply is cut off for any length of time. The provoking thing is that no one knows the cause for the stoppage, although all attribute it to the fact that the Reds have probably gained control of the water pumping station. Rumors are circulating that tomorrow we shall be without light. When we read of the awful conditions prevailing in Petrograd we little realized, much less expected, that such conditions could ever exist in Berlin, and yet here today they are very similar. At present the atmosphere is so very tense that one actually wishes for something startling and drastic to happen, to bring relief from the present attitude where everything is set on trigger edge, capable of going off at any moment.

"An interesting phenomenon associated with the revolution and apparently typical of all revolutions, for I understand that it occurred in Russia, as well as in France at the time of its revolution, is the great increase in dancing. Practically all cabarets and many of the cafés schedule dances beginning early in the afternoon and continuing throughout most of the night, when the closing hour is not strictly enforced. Similarly, gambling clubs, especially in the well-to-do section of the city along Kurfürstendamm, have sprung up in large numbers, some of them being most elaborately equipped and decorated. Meals are served in these places at staggering prices, but this does not seem

to prevent the public from patronizing them. They are invariably filled with large numbers of men and women attracted by the lure of the gambling spirit. Money is plentiful among this class and with comparatively few outlets for spending—food and clothing being out of the question—excitement is had by frequenting the gambling dens.

"Plundering and robberies are the order of the day, the police proving entirely inadequate and inefficient—in fact, so completely so that one is led to believe that they are in conspiracy with those who do the plundering. The circular billboards so common in Berlin contain hosts of advertisements offering rewards from a few hundred to several thousand marks for information leading to the arrest of those guilty of the plundering. The removal from large department stores of several hundred thousand marks' worth of silks, suits, furs, and similar stock is a nightly occurrence, but one seldom if ever hears of the arrest and conviction of the thieves. So bold have some of these plundering gangs become that booty captured by them is openly sold in the streets. In the east part of Berlin a veritable market has been established on the open street for goods of this character. Here one can buy everything under the sun at comparatively reasonable prices, knowing full well that the supplies on hand are all stolen wares.

"The debating groups on the streets are still the predominant phenomena of the present crisis, together with the marching bands of party followers. Every half hour a more or less lengthy parade passes down the street; as the days go by the appearance of the participants is more and more unkempt. You know how the German can scold. You should hear the spectators on the walks these days. They scold and knock everything from the Chancellor down and then begin all over again, until they are red in the face and the perspiration flows. Everyone is asking why the Government does not resort to more drastic measures and use force to the utmost to quell the uprising. My own opinion is the Government does not dare to do so. It is not sure of the soldiers upon whom it must depend should it really wish to use force.

"In the street debates there is considerable talk and speculation as to the conditions which would prevail were Entente troops to occupy Berlin. I believe a large percentage of the people would welcome such occupation, especially by American or British

troops, for two reasons; first, because food supplies would then be distributed—this, perhaps, is the primary reason—and, in the second place, because order would soon be restored. What a strange irony of fate that the same people who a few months ago could find no words adequate to describe their animosity and hatred against us should now almost beg us to come to their rescue from a scourge of their own making and arising out of their midst! The fact that there has not been more bloodshed is due no doubt to the slogan, "Brothers, do not shoot," which reminds the men of both parties that in shooting they are actually killing their countrymen, and the *Landsmann*, as he is called, is regarded more or less as sacred. None the less it is plainly evident as one mingles with the crowd that violent action is soon to be taken, for the vast majority of the people have become intolerant of the high-handed methods of the Reds. I expect a rather heavy battle within the next few days, if not tomorrow. It is now a case of fighting to the limit or yielding to the rowdyism and terrorism such as the Reds proclaim as their program."

January 9th.

"More trouble today. No street car and no elevated train service, so that practically everyone who wished to go downtown had to use the subway or walk. Naturally, the majority of the people had to walk. In front of the subway station there were lines of prospective passengers extending far out into the streets, waiting for the chance to buy their tickets. Near the Brandenburg Arch guards were stationed on all corners, to prohibit public traffic through and about the Arch. As I wanted to get to our Y M C A Foyer for prisoners of war, which is situated near by, I had to pass through the Arch or go in a roundabout way. The guards there refused me passage, but I happily thought of one of my permits from the War Ministry, signed by a representative of the Soldiers' Council, and I submitted this for inspection to the next guard who obstructed my way. On seeing the signature and official stamp he courteously bowed and allowed me to pass without further ado.

"The machine guns on top of the Arch had a rather sinister look as I passed directly under them. In fact, one had a strange feeling as one passed down Unter den Linden, realizing that

on the previous night a battle had occurred resulting in the killing and wounding of several men. In the Foyer all was quiet, no one being there but the woman who cleans the office daily. I made arrangements to have the place closed for the day, as naturally no prisoners of war would be allowed to trespass in the territory leading up to the Foyer, since it was in the danger zone and was shut off to the public. The day before many people had sought refuge in the Foyer during one of the battles which occur a dozen or twenty times a day in this section. All the buildings in the vicinity are more or less riddled with bullet holes.

"After finishing all arrangements and giving orders I hurried down to the office, being compelled to pass another line of guards who demanded my identification papers before permitting me to pass out of the barricaded section. The girls had all appeared at the office, but I urged them to hurry with a few of the more urgent letters and telegrams and then to go home, for rumors were circulated that today real fighting was to take place and one was not sure how far the fighting zone would extend. We all left about noon. There was more or less promiscuous and desultory shooting to be heard. All streets running into Unter den Linden and the entire business section about Potsdammer Place were practically deserted, as no public traffic was allowed. Naturally, at the line of demarcation hundreds if not thousands of people were congregated, evidently curious to see what was going to happen. Here one heard most interesting discussions taking place.

"At three P. M. the street car service was resumed in certain sections of the city. Apparently employer and employes have come to terms and the increased wages demanded by the latter have been granted, which means an increased fare tariff in a month if not sooner. The streets presented an even more warlike appearance as the evening approached. The Government had called for volunteers to go against the Spartacists and thousands had apparently volunteered. Many, no doubt, are attracted by the very favorable pay offered for such service; the majority, however, I feel sure, are honest in their desire to put an end to the terrorism and high-handed methods of the Reds. The volunteers were all equipped with arms at central depots and immediately sent out by squads or in auto trucks into those sections

Université Française du Camp de Schneidemühl

EMPLOI DU TEMPS

COURS PRIMAIRES ELEMENTAIRES

Cours Préparatoire. -- Lecture, Ecriture, Calcul. tous les jours de 8 h. à 9 h.

Cours Elémentaire. - Lecture et Ecriture . Lundi et Jeudi de 11 à 12 h.
Orthographe et Rédaction - Mardi et Vendredi de 11 h. à 12 h.
Calcul - - - - Mercredi et Samedi de 11 h. à 12 h.

Cours Moyen - Lecture et Dictée - Lundi et Samedi de 18 h. à 19 h.
Calcul - - - - - - - - Mardi et Vendredi de 18 à 19 h.
Rédaction et Ecriture - Mercredi de 18 h. à 19 h.
Grammaire et Dictée - Jeudi de 18 h. à 19 h.

COURS PRIMAIRES SUPERIEURS

Grammaire et Orthographe - Mardi et Vendredi de 15h30 à 16h30
Composition française - Lundi et Jeudi de 15h30 à 16h30
Lecture expliquée - Mercredi et Samedi de 15h30 à 16h30
Géographie - - - - - - - - Lundi et Jeudi de 9 h. à 10 h.
Mathématiques-Arithmétique- Mercredi et Samedi de 9 h. à 10 h.
Géométrie - Lundi et Vendredi de 19 h. à 20 h.
Algèbre - Mercredi de 19 h. à 20 h.

COURS PROFESSIONNELS

Sciences physiques et naturelles dans leurs applications à l'agriculture - Mardi et Vendredi de 9 h. à 10 h.

Commerce
Comptabilité - Mardi, jeudi et Samedi de 19 h. à 20 h.
Sténographie Duployé - Lundi, Mercredi et Vendredi de 8 h. à 9 h.
Dactylographie - Mardi, Jeudi et Samedi de 8 h. à 9 h.
Anglais - Tous les jours de 13h30 à 14h30
Allemand - Tous les jours de 10 h. à 11 h.
Espagnol - Lundi, Mercredi et Vendredi de 21 h. à 22 h.

Industrie
1-Résistance des matériaux appliquée au béton armé - Lundi de 14,30 à 15,30
2-Organisation des usines magasins et chantiers - Mercredi de 14,30 à 15,30
3-Etudes industrielles - Vendredi de 14,30 à 15,30
4-Electricité, Mécanique - Lundi de 20 h. à 21 h.
5-Dessin industriel (Métallurgie et Bâtiment) - Mardi et jeudi de 20 h. à 21 h.
6-Métallurgie - Mercredi de 20 h. à 21 h.
7-Constructions civiles (Bâtiments et travaux publics) - Vendredi de 20 h. à 21 h.

Topographie, Levé de Plans, Nivellement - Dimanche de 8 h. 30 à 10 h.
Droit usuel - - - - - - - - - Mardi, jeudi et Vendredi de 16h30 à 17h30
Architecture, Art décoratif - Lundi, Mercredi et Samedi de 16h30 à 17h30
Dessin d'Art - - - - - - - - Mardi, jeudi et Samedi de 14h30 à 16 h.
Coupe - - - - - - - - - - - Mardi, jeudi et Samedi de 21 h. à 22 h.
Psychologie et Pédagogie - Mardi, jeudi et Samedi de 14h30 à 15h30
Culture Physique - - - - - - Tous les matins de 6 h. à 8 h.
Musique - - - - - - - - - - Lundi et jeudi de 15 h. à 16 h. (SALLE DU THEA
Causerie: Samedi de 20 h. à 21 h.

UNIVERSITÉ FRANÇAISE
DU CAMP DE SCHNEIDEMUHL (POSEN)

Adjudant A. Richard
63e chasseurs alpins - Président

SCHEDULE OF COURSES GIVEN IN THE FRENCH UNIVERSITY AT CAMP SCHNEIDEMÜHL

of the city where the Spartacists had entrenched themselves. Efforts were made to prevent the spread of the uprising. Thus all along the drive through the Tiergarten leading from Berlin to Charlottenburg armed guards were stationed, who halted all passing vehicles, demanded authorization and identification papers of the occupants, and assumed the right to examine any suspicious looking loads. Heavy fighting occurred in the newspaper office section of the city. In the shooting that occurred here a horse was killed. As soon as the fighting ceased and traffic was again permitted, pedestrians tackled the horse, hacking or tearing off large pieces of the flesh, and joyously lugging home the booty thus unexpectedly secured. Nothing but the skeleton of the horse remains now. No doubt it, too, will be hauled away by some enterprising *restaurateur* and will soon reappear in the form of meat extract or margarin, or perhaps some municipal kitchen will give its patrons a treat for dinner in the form of a rich meaty soup."

January 10th.

"The weather continues wonderfully clear and mild, a strange contrast to the storms in the streets these days. The morning papers tell of violent fighting during the night, resulting from an attempt on the part of the government troops to storm several of the newspaper plants which are still held by the Reds. The government troops were repulsed and the Reds are loud in their claims of victory. Machine guns are now stationed on many housetops and even in the spires of some of the churches in the immediate vicinity of the territory occupied by the Reds. From these an almost continuous fire sweeps the intrenchments of the Reds, as well as the housetops, for the Spartacists endeavor to bring food and ammunition to their besieged comrades by climbing over the housetops, as this is the only means now of reaching them.

"Around the palace everything was more or less quiet this morning. True, every now and then one heard occasional shooting, but to this one has become more or less indifferent. The whole business center of the city is still closed to the public. Elevated train service is again stopped. It seems that the Spartacists have succeeded in holding against all attacks two of the important elevated stations, and have thus succeeded in interrupting through train service. Street car service was also seriously

disorganized in view of the closing to the public of so many streets. I therefore tried to get home in a roundabout way and boarded an omnibus which would bring me within hailing distance of my residence. As we passed under the Friedrich Street station tracks, machine guns from three different directions began to chatter, all apparently stationed on the housetops where we were passing. The spit-spat of the striking bullets in our immediate vicinity caused pandemonium to break loose. Everyone on the streets scurried in all directions to places of safety. Our driver at first pulled up his horses, but was furiously urged to go on by the panic-stricken passengers. He had stopped only for a moment, but it seemed ages before he got under way again. Children and women were crying. The men, with the exception of a few soldiers, were all highly excited. Personally I never felt in all my life so utterly helpless, like a rat in a trap as it were, as during those terrifying moments of suspense when one expected every moment to be shot. Luckily, we got away safely."

CHAPTER XXII

A TRIP TO VIENNA

"I was to leave Berlin the night of January 10th for Vienna, a trip which I was not particularly anxious to undertake under these unsettled conditions. I hurried my preparations so as to get to the Anhalter Station by daylight, even though my train did not leave until 9:36 P. M. It was six P. M. and dark, however, before I reached the station. The car service to the station had ceased in view of the fighting which had occurred there and which was likely to be resumed at any moment. The vicinity of the station, otherwise an exceedingly busy place, presented a most dismal and foreboding appearance. The station itself and all the streets leading to it were shrouded in gloom and darkness. I had to pass four lines of armed government guards, each of whom demanded my identification papers before I was finally admitted to the waiting room of the station.

"In the ticket counter hall one saw numerous evidences of the fighting of the previous days, such as bullet holes through windows, walls, and signs. The waiting room itself was filled with travelers, largely soldiers, a few civilians, and a number of women. Government armed guards were everywhere in evidence. The hushed tones in which everyone spoke gave one the impression that the enemy must be very near. All of us were nervous and fearful lest the battle should begin before our train pulled out, in which case there would be no escape. Once someone gave a false alarm and we all rushed helter skelter, gripping our baggage as we did so. It makes me laugh now to think how we crowded together in a scrambling mass of scared humanity in the farthest corner of the waiting room. Very soon we discovered it was a false alarm, and we resumed our seats, each grinning more or less sheepishly at the other because of our betrayal of fear.

"Finally train time arrived and with a big sigh of relief we boarded our train, thanking God, our stars, or just our luck—according to our belief—when the train finally pulled out of the

station. The train was not as crowded as on earlier trips which I have taken. I had a fine seat, and as far as Leipzig we made the trip in schedule time. But from there on the delays began to pile up, so that by the time we neared Munich we were over four hours late.

"Just before pulling into Regensburg, a town of some 30,000 inhabitants about an hour north of Munich, our train stopped a short distance outside of the railway station. Minutes passed and finally I looked out of the window to discover if possible the cause of the delay, only to see two lines of armed civilians and soldiers approaching our train on a stealthy run, apparently intent on surrounding the train. Again nervous suspense ensued, for one could not tell whether they were the dreaded Spartacists or were government troops. As they reached the train they pointed rifles and revolvers at the passengers who were staring out of the windows, or held up hand grenades in a menacing manner so that things looked rather dangerous. Then came the order for all sailors on the train to get out, which, needless to say, most of them did rather reluctantly. The back-and-forth yelling of orders and the words of explanation which were overheard soon made things clear. The armed men were the Whites. The day before a band of Reds had raided a large number of stores in broad daylight in a most daring and audacious manner in the city, shooting had ensued, and in a midnight meeting the Whites had decided to inaugurate martial law. The sailors were especially picked out as agents of the Reds, but I know the majority on our train were not; instead they were all mere boys, anxious to get home after the many years of more or less continuous separation. They were marched off under very heavy guard. I sincerely hope they were released, but know nothing of their fate.

"After this exciting delay we pulled into the station. I got off, for I had to change trains here. Obviously I was uneasy, for I had to remain in the town some six hours. After getting dinner at one of the hotels, I went uptown to see the destruction caused by the raids of the Reds. Clothing, shoe, and fur shops had been stormed, but no food shops—an interesting commentary on the situation. All plate-glass windows had been broken, and all goods in the shops taken away, an absolutely clean sweep, so to speak, having been made. One wondered how they got away

with it. Truck autos with armed soldiers and machine guns raced up and down the streets, doing police duty. In addition, armed guards were stationed at all street corners. It is incredible the way the Red terror is spreading.

"Munich, Stuttgart, Nürnberg, and Leipzig all report similar terroristic stunts by the Reds. I was glad when we pulled out of the city at 5:30 P. M. even though uncertain as to what I would run into en route. Our trip continued without further interruptions to Passau on the German-Austrian frontier. Here I was compelled to wait over night for an early train the next morning. The trip to Vienna, ordinarily one of less than thirty-six hours, required seventy-two hours to complete."

January 14th.

"I have had time to experience post-war conditions here in Vienna. My conclusion is, 'Far worse than Berlin.' Yesterday I spent twenty-six kroners for a simple though well-prepared dinner. All kinds of meat can be had at these prices, but vegetables, aside from cabbage, are practically a minus quantity. The menu card, *a la carte,* included lamb, beef, pork, and veal; potatoes almost *nil;* bread likewise, and next week the bread ration is to be reduced to one half the present ration, which means that the people will receive just a little over one pound of bread per week. One marked difference is the palatable manner in which the food is prepared here. One would say a better cuisine than in Berlin, where restaurant food now is invariably flat and tasteless. German bread, however, is far better than that in Vienna. Sugar is scarcer here. Clothing prices are staggering. A pair of socks costs from 33 to 50 kroners, handkerchiefs 8 to 18 kroners apiece; shoes 200 kroners and upwards; overcoats 1,200 kroners and up; gloves 45 kroners and upwards; underwear 50 kroners and upwards. These prices mean that the poorer people are unable to buy any new clothing and as the War has been on more than four years you cannot conceive the awful condition in which some of the people run about the streets. Poverty? Yes, starvation is prevalent here. In Berlin I have seen few cases as bad as hundreds which I have seen here since yesterday.

"Begging is unlimited. The sidewalks are lined with pitiable specimens of humanity asking for alms. Blind and frightfully crippled soldiers, ragged women with babies in their arms, poor

shivering barefoot urchins—all appeal to the passers-by for some substantial evidence of sympathy. What a problem they are to a conscientious giver! One would like to help all deserving cases, although doubtless there are many fakes among them, but it is impossible to do so. Whatever relief commission begins work here should first of all clean the streets of these people, find houses for them, and organize and centralize relief stations. What a tremendous opportunity for Christian social service, based on Christ's love for every human individual no matter what his state!

"The scarcity of coal is strongly in evidence. All offices and shops must shut down at four P. M. to save coal and light. As night approaches the streets become gruesomely dark, for comparatively few street lamps are lighted. All theaters and cinemas are closed throughout the week except on Friday and Saturday and occasionally Thursday. Street car service stops at eight P. M. and all the cafés and restaurants close at nine. Many restaurants, even those in connection with some of the largest hotels, are closed, and bear signs to the effect that they are closed because of a lack of food supplies. One does not see poultry in the meat shops as in Berlin, where it is comparatively plentiful even though most expensive. Board and room in a modest pension cost not less than fifty kroners a day. The haggard faces and sorrowful eyes of many of the pedestrians, including the children, which one sees on all sides, speak loudly of the suffering which they have endured.

"This morning I was witness of an interesting scene—the parade through the streets of a troop of English soldiers headed by an English officer. It did one good to see the khaki-clad boys. The newspapers report that they have come here as guard of a train of forty cars of food supplies from Italy, which are being given as a token of appreciation of the treatment accorded to British prisoners of war in Austria. The Swiss Relief Commission which arrived recently brought fifty-nine car loads of food supplies for Vienna.

"One notices comparatively few of the signs of political unrest, such as mass meetings, debating groups in the streets, and circularization of handbills, that were so characteristic of the streets of Berlin. Somehow one has the feeling here that a great

tragedy has taken place involving an entire nation. Hope seems to have fled, and where that occurs there is little life left. The condition of the poor is appalling in the extreme. Their condition is accentuated by the contrast of the fine shops and most handsomely clad men and women. The Viennese were always good dressers. The social scheme which permits abject and painful poverty such as one sees here, while others are so luxuriously and extravagantly cared for, must be wrong. A good God cannot tolerate such extremes in the life of His children indefinitely. Perhaps the revolutionary events which have occurred are the beginnings of a new day.

"At present the Clericals are still well-nigh almighty in power. How long will they remain so? Not only in politics, but also in the church system, must there be a revolution if a healthy social fabric is to be woven on history's loom in Austria. Think of little babies being brought to the county hospitals wrapped in newspapers, because there are no clothes for them; or of the little barefoot urchins, hundreds of whom I have seen on the streets standing in the cold slush and snow. What anguish and torture the loving mothers who gave birth to these wee mites must endure! God have mercy on them, and forgive us from the lands of plenty if immediate relief does not come from us. 'And a little child shall lead them.' How can the children lead, when we rob them of their birthright, when frozen and starving they succumb because of our neglect or indifference?

"On my return from Vienna I passed through the new Czecho-Slovakian country and was surprised at the friendly attitude shown me whenever the officials discovered my American citizenship. It did one good to see at many of the railway stations the new flag of Czecho-Slovakia displayed with our American flag."

CHAPTER XXIII

EXPERIMENTS IN DEMOCRACY

On returning from Vienna, I wrote on January 19th:

"Somehow, I was mighty glad to get back to Berlin yesterday from my trip to Vienna. The streets presented a most martial as well as a busy appearance. Everywhere armed and uniformed soldiers, the new government troops, were in evidence. It seems that the Spartacists' revolt and attempt to prevent the national elections from taking place had been put down during my absence and all was more or less in order again. Handbills by the thousands were being distributed by men and women and especially by large numbers of children, who had been drafted into the electioneering service by the respective political parties in the field. Sandwich men and men and women with placards of the various political parties were parading up and down the streets endeavoring to win a few more voters in the eleventh hour for their respective parties. During the past few days innumerable special meetings for women voters have been held by all of the parties, in an attempt to win their votes on election day as well as to educate them in the proper use of this newly won privilege.

"The whole city is placarded. Public buildings, street cars, wagons—in fact, every available place has one or more posters. The brilliant red of the Social Democrats, the red, black, and gold of the People's Party, and the red, white, and black of the old conservative parties predominate in these posters. On the whole the poster designs are far from artistic and to me do not appeal as very effective. In all of the party publicity strong appeals are made for the votes of the women. One of the most effective posters represents a ragged little street waif pointing his finger at you with the remark, 'Mother, do not forget me.'

"On the street car coming home from the railway station a soldier boarded the car and examined everyone for concealed weapons, a practice which has been common throughout Berlin since the downfall of the Spartacists. No stone is being left





PROGRAM COVERS

unturned in an effort to gain complete control of the situation and once for all to put an end to the Red terror. A heavy penalty is inflicted upon anyone found carrying concealed weapons without permission.

"Today, January 19th, is election day. One wonders whether Sunday was purposely chosen either to desecrate the Sabbath and thus demonstrate the utter disregard of the new movement for things religious, or in order to bring home to everyone the sacredness of the new privilege—equal, universal suffrage—and to caution people to use this privilege justly. Let us hope the latter holds true. It is difficult to grasp the fact that here in this land, which until four months ago was the stronghold of autocratic monarchism, is today to hold for the first time in its history a national election on the basis of equal, universal suffrage for all, when women will be entitled to vote along with the men, and will, furthermore, doubtless cast the deciding votes. The popular vote cast today will in all probability greatly exceed in number all previous records. Let us remember, too, that this is happening in a land most disastrously defeated in war, thoroughly disorganized internally and especially industrially; that the voting is taking place perhaps more quietly than in countries long accustomed to the franchise; and that a reign of terror which threatened these very elections has just been quelled within three days, and something of the magnitude and significance of today's election becomes clear to one. It predicts well for the future of the nation, in spite of the other gloomy prospects.

"This morning I walked the streets to see how the voting is taking place. I passed any number of voting booths or polls. Everywhere long lines of the new voters, four abreast usually, were waiting to cast what for the majority will be their first vote. Women in their Sunday best were in the predominance, perhaps more excited because of the novelty of the event than because of any partisan feelings or interests, although it is surprising how intelligent many of the women are with reference to the whole political horizon and the factors involved. For the first time in Germany's history class distinctions had disappeared and all were equal so far as the value of their vote was concerned. Here were women, young and old, the wives of millionaires and their servant girls, professional women and factory girls—all on the

same level, all with the right to vote, the vote of one having the same potential value as that of every other one. One little incident is especially worthy of mention. A group of Catholic sisters or nuns from a near-by nunnery were seen on their way to a booth shepherded as it were by a Catholic priest: trembling, anxious, worried, with palpitating hearts, no doubt, participating for the first time in the worldly process of voting, in reality a sacred obligation. One wondered what St. Ursula, the patron saint of the nunnery in question, would say were she to have seen her descendants thus partaking in political life.

"The revolt of the Spartacists was put down during my absence. It seems that our Y M C A Foyer for the prisoners of war was in the thick of some rather heavy fighting. Thus, after one of the spasmodic fighting seances the bodies of two of the participants who had been killed were brought into our rooms for temporary storage. Just how many people were killed during the revolt no one knows; apparently the number runs up into the hundreds. Liebknecht, the ringleader of the Spartacists, was captured, but on the way to the military court he attempted to escape and was fatally shot when he refused to halt upon the request of the guards who had him in custody. At least this is the explanation given by the government papers in their account of the death of Liebknecht. Rosa Luxemburg, known as the Red Rose, who was one of the most influential leaders of the Spartacists, was captured at the same time and was practically lynched by the infuriated mob. At present no one knows anything regarding her actual fate. It seems she was shot, whether fatally or not is not known. The auto in which she was being taken to a hospital was stopped by the mob and in the confusion that ensued she disappeared. It was supposed that the mob had killed her and thrown her body in one of the near-by canals, but up to date her body has not been recovered in spite of a most scrupulous search of the canals for the same. One now suspects that she was not killed, but was carried away by friends and that she is in hiding, hatching out some new schemes whereby to terrify the country again. The military authorities have offered a reward of 10,000 marks for information leading to the discovery of her whereabouts or to the recovery of her body. The whole affair is very much of a mystery to everyone.

"Whether or not the drastic measures resorted to by the Government in suppressing the revolt have accomplished the complete cessation of Spartacist activity is very problematical. True, at present the streets of Berlin have assumed more or less their war-time normal appearance, with the possible exception of the large number of armed soldiers whom one sees on patrol duty throughout the city. On the other hand, sympathy strikes have been called throughout the country as a protest against the so-called brutal killing of Liebknecht. In various cities of Germany Spartacist revolts are taking place. Thus at present there are serious Spartacist troubles in Hamburg. One wonders why the Spartacist element does not decide upon a united effort throughout the country, rather than spend its energies in futile localized and spasmodic outbreaks. There have been such uprisings in Halle, Magdeburg, Leipzig, and Munich, but in each case after a brief initial success the Spartacists have been defeated by the superior forces of the government troops.

"Here in Berlin we are the victims of a succession of strikes. It is more like an epidemic. First came the street car employes; then followed in rapid succession elevated train employes, waiters, employes in the large department store, and now those in the electric light plant. Apparently these last have cut the main, for about four o'clock yesterday afternoon all lights went out suddenly and all street cars mysteriously stopped in their tracks. This morning the cars were still where they had come to a halt yesterday, for there has been no current since. You can imagine what a catastrophe this procedure means for the city, now that neither candles nor petroleum are available to use as substitutes for lighting purposes. At the office we were fortunate enough to have a few candle stubs left from Christmas, which tided us over the dark hours of the morning and the late afternoon. Everyone had to walk to work this morning, with the result that no one arrived on time.

"Today, January 3rd, comes the announcement of further inconveniences for the citizens of Berlin. Elevated trains are indefinitely out of commission because of lack of coal and especially lack of locomotives. The papers claim that, in view of the large number of the latter that had to be given to the Entente on the basis of the armistice conditions, the supply necessary to run

the trains in Germany is entirely inadequate. In view of the coal shortage, cooking gas is to be shut off from eight-thirty to eleven o'clock in the morning and from two to five-thirty in the afternoon. The community kitchens continue to serve large numbers of people. As high as 350,000 people a month have been served in these kitchens. Many people, unable to secure the necessary supplies to prepare food at home and further handicapped by the shutting off of the gas during so many hours a day, prefer to eat at these kitchens rather than to attempt to cook at home.

"Curfew hour is to be ten o'clock. There are to be no afternoon movie shows and theater performances are to be limited to certain nights a week. Restaurants and cabarets must close at nine-thirty. One wonders what will come next. The various measures being adopted at least make life interesting even if inconvenient."

January 25th.

"The results of the election held January 19th gave the majority of seats in the Provisional National Assembly to the democratic parties. The Majority Socialists, as predicted, received by far the largest numbers although not a majority; on the other hand, it is reasonable to assume that many of the Independent Socialists, although opposed to the Majority Socialists, will none the less vote with them on issues in which monarchism is involved, and in conjunction with the Majority Socialists will control the Assembly. The Clerical party is a formidable second, so far as number of representatives to be sent by it to the National Assembly is concerned. The Assembly is to meet on February 6th at Weimar, and preparations are now under way for it, but again the Spartacist element is resorting to every available means in an effort to prevent the meeting of the Assembly. It is rumored that the railway employes are planning to strike and thus prevent the transportation of delegates to and from Weimar. Spartacist uprisings are taking place in a large circle about Weimar. It seems that they are planning to encircle and capture such delegates as may be sent. The future of the whole Assembly is very much in doubt as a result.

"Meanwhile, the Spartacist agitation still continues. Whereas in Berlin everything is comparatively quiet, disturbances and uprisings are occurring throughout the country. At the present

time there are strikes and violence of the worst kind in Halle, Leipzig, Erfurt, Gotha, and Munich. In the latter place the disturbance has been unusually serious. A central government made up of the Socialists, Workmen's, and Business Men's Councils has been called into being. Train service is completely cut off and gas, water, and electric current have ceased to function because of the strike of the employes concerned. Weimar, the city where the National Provisional Government is to hold forth, is now more or less completely surrounded by Spartacists. It seems as though Germany were going from bad to worse. Apparently the Spartacists are definitely planning to surround and capture all the government delegates now in Weimar. One wonders whether they will succeed or whether the Government will have sufficient forces to prevent such a disaster. At the present time the government representatives who must pass between Munich and Berlin are compelled to utilize aeroplanes. In fact, a regular aeroplance service has been established between the two cities to carry passengers and mail. As a result of the constant feuds and troubles being caused by the Spartacists, the government army under the leadership of Noske, which primarily should function for national protection, is unconsciously being diverted from its real function and is becoming a political party army with the one function of maintaining its party in power. It is necessary to resort to force and violence to quell any disturbance likely to threaten the power and control of the present Majority Socialists. This, indeed, is most unfortunate and presents a new menace. Whether or not this relationship will continue future events alone can decide; but should the principle be thoroughly rooted whereby in an effort to maintain control of the Government a political party utilizes the government troops, I say, 'Watch out.' Much the same condition prevails in Russia, where the army of the Bolshevik Party is used essentially to maintain that party in control of the country and nation as a whole."

February 8th.

"The opening of the National Assembly took place two days ago in Weimar. It was hailed by the press as the most momentous day in the history of the new Germany. I quote the following from a number of the speeches made at this first meeting. They

indicate that certain of the leaders at least are prompted by high idealism, which they are anxious to put into effect:

"Ebert: 'The German people are free, will remain free, and forevermore govern themselves. This freedom is the one consolation which remains for the German people after the War.' Again, 'Here in Weimar we must complete the transition from imperialism to idealism, from desire for world power to desire for spiritual greatness and values.'

"Landsberg, Minister of the Judiciary: 'Above the entrance to the Reichstag building the following words are written, "To the German people"'—a gift as it were from the lords to the people, indicative of the schoolmaster attitude and the hand-me-down policy of the old paternal form of government, where things were done for the people without their participation or representation. Over Weimar National Assembly these words shall be written, "The German people,"'—indicative of the new relationship of the people to the Government, independent, free, and self-governing.

"David: 'Democracy is the universalization of the aristocratic principle. Democracy should strive to guarantee to everyone the possibility of the maximum culture of personality.'

"It is interesting to note the make-up of the first cabinet. Ebert, who was more or less unanimously elected as temporary President, is, as we know, a saddler; Scheidemann, a printer; Schiffer, a lawyer; Brockdorff-Rantzau, an aristocrat; Schmidt, a piano-maker; Landsberg, a lawyer; Noske, an editor; Bauer, a lawyer; Giesbert, editor of a laborers' paper; Koeth, an officer; Bell, a lawyer; David, a teacher, and Gotheim, a miner—the cabinet is thus more or less representative of all walks of life.

"Of late the Government is resorting to an educational campaign in an effort to counteract the spread of Bolshevism. Most hideous and frightful posters designed to scare people from Bolshevism are being placarded everywhere. According to the legend on these they are circulated by 'The Anti-Bolsheviki Society,' but I am inclined to believe that the Government is indirectly responsible for them.

"I have failed to mention the notices which have been posted on all public and utility buildings ever since the revolution. Those on the public and national buildings inform the passers-by

that the building in question is '*National-Eigentum*,' meaning national property. Those on utility buildings inform the passers-by and would-be marauders that the same is a utility building and must not be molested. Usually these notices have been respected, and comparatively little damage has resulted to such buildings as the museums, art galleries, and cathedrals."

CHAPTER XXIV

THE STRIKE EPIDEMIC CONTINUES

From a letter written March 4th:

"Last night a general strike was again called in Berlin and the calm of the past week or ten days is thus proving to be merely the calm before the storm. This, however, is more or less of a 'de luxe' strike. All industrial and commercial organizations are included, but the employes of plants for public utilities, such as gas, water, and electric light, received instructions not to strike; thus we are assured of water, gas, and electric service for the time being. In most other places where a general strike was declared everything was included. However, one does not know for how long we shall be spared. Today there was no street car, elevated or subway train service. I had over an hour's walk to the office this morning as a result. Restaurants and cafés were all closed. Tomorrow all food stores are to be closed. Rumors are being circulated that the middle class and professional men are going to organize a counter strike—that is, that doctors, druggists, and the like will strike and refuse to give service such as medical attention to anyone. Today we still had telephone service, but this, too, as well as the postal service, is to join in the strike tomorrow. Thus we shall be cut off completely from the entire world. None of the moderate or conservative newspapers appear and all one can get is one-sided news from the press of the striking parties. Another new paper has appeared known as the *Daily Bulletin*, issued by the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council, which is at the bottom of the whole disturbance.

"I should explain that these councils are responsible for the present general strike and are in direct opposition to the present Government in control. People owning wagons and horses have taken advantage of the situation caused by the complete standstill of all means of traffic and offer to take one various distances at fabulous prices. Tonight, for example, I rode part of the way home on an ordinary wagon with improvised seats a distance of









Antrieb für
Hoffmann Conrad
im Untersuch d. H. d. P. Ross

Ortsgruppe Soz. dem. Partei Deutschlands.
Vorsitzender d. a. d. Wahlver
Berlins u. Umg.
Berlin, Fürstenstr. 5, Hof 2 r.
Kat
Wallenb

Prison Camp Money
Christmas Card

Food Packet Label

Prison Camp Postage Stamps
Revolutionists' Certificate of Identification

about a mile and had to pay three marks for the trip. I was one of six passengers. Every imaginable type of rig has been called into service to relieve the transportation situation. Tomorrow I am planning to sleep uptown, for it is too much of a good thing to hike the distance to the office every day. Somehow a fellow no longer has the necessary physical endurance. Four years of a greatly diminished and restricted diet evidently have their effect on one's strength. On the whole the day was rather quiet, although one heard occasional shooting in various parts of the city. Last night in certain sections there were serious raids on the food stores. Today everyone was buying bread and such other food supplies as are available, in order to lay up a reserve store in preparation for the worst."

March 6th.

"The strike continues and today was more serious than ever. Not the least sign of a newspaper all day, so that one has not the slightest idea of what is going on aside from that which one personally witnesses. This afternoon there is no electric light, so I presume the strikers have got the upper hand there. Around the office this afternoon the fighting and shooting became so continuous and so near to our quarters that I ordered the girls home immediately. As it was, the streets leading to the office had already been barricaded by barbed wire and Spanish riders. Cannon were stationed in front of the buildings. Machine guns were everywhere on the housetops and street corners in the vicinity. Troops were stationed in all the schools. Barbed wire barricades had been thrown up beyond both the cathedral and the palace, as the strikers are expected from the direction of Alexander Place. In that neighborhood there has been more or less violent fighting throughout the past two nights.

"Last night I remained in the hotel where the American orderlies are living. I did not have a very restful night, for there was more or less shooting going on in the neighborhood and about three o'clock this morning three terrifying cannon shots nearby scared every one of us out of bed."

March 9th.

"The backbone of the general strike seems to be broken, even though the street car service has not yet been resumed. This is fortunate, for there have been some rather serious occurrences.

Thursday afternoon the shooting became so continuous and was so near the office that we had to leave at three P. M. for safety's sake—the second time this has occurred.

"Thursday night gas, electric light, and water were all turned off in Charlottenburg so that we suffered considerable inconvenience. Friday morning the gas was still shut off, although water and electric light service was resumed. The gas remained off until early this morning. People without electric light, which by the way was off again last night, were up against it, as were those who depend entirely upon gas for cooking purposes. Friday morning we could not get to the office as all the streets leading there were blocked by guards and no pedestrians were allowed to pass, no matter how imperative their business or how authoritative a pass or permit they had. Shooting was continuous. Yesterday, however, we who had certificates to indicate that we were employed in the barricaded territory were permitted to pass, so that we all worked yesterday. There has been no mail delivery at the office since Thursday, so that we shall have a landslide when the accumulated mail is finally delivered.

"In front of the office, across the street, and leading to the bridges, barbed wire entanglements have been strung. Evidently the Spartacists were expected to make an attempt here to get into the center of the city. The guards on duty were still as numerous as ever. Machine gun fire could be heard as well as many individual rifle shots. The government troops seemed to be master of the situation. At present the attempt is being made to drive out the street bands of Spartacists who have intrenched themselves in various sections of the city in the northeast region. The endeavor to do this with as little bloodshed as possible makes progress rather slow. I marvel at the obstinacy of the resistance, for the strikers surely must realize that their cause is lost. Millions' worth of property have been destroyed, ruthlessly as well as a direct result of the heavy firing and shooting. Thus far several hundred actually killed are reported and over 900 wounded.

"Yesterday the papers again appeared after well-nigh a week's suspension. Since Friday night the subway has been running, so that some relief for the calamitous traffic conditions has been achieved. The street cars have not yet resumed service because the striking employes are demanding pay for the days of the

strike, which the employers justly refuse to grant. The entire strike seems to have been provoked by the Spartacists, ably assisted by the Independent Socialists, to serve as a pretense for the overthrow of the present Government and the installation of a regime of the Russian type. The Independent Socialist group apparently is fluctuating between allegiance to the more radical Spartacists on the one hand and the less radical Social Democrats on the other. Whichever party succeeds in securing their permanent allegiance will be greatly strengthened, because the Independent Socialist Party is a strong one.

"The Government in its attempt to provide employment for the many soldiers returned from the front has just issued an order prohibiting the employment of all enemy aliens, which includes the Russians who are here in large numbers. During the days of the occupation of Russia German employment agents were sent into Poland, for the purpose of recruiting the Polish civilian population for work in Germany. Extensive promises were made of high wages and good living conditions with the result that large numbers of the male population volunteered for this service and were shipped into Germany, where they worked in the various industries. Invariably they received far heavier work, such as railway construction, munition factory work, and the like, than had been promised them. Now all of these men as a result of the above decree are thrown out of employment and at present there is no possibility of their return to Poland, for traffic between Poland and Germany has ceased. Considerable antipathy has developed between the Poles and Germans as a result of the ceding of German territory to the Poles on the basis of the peace terms. Thus these Russians thrown out of employment are literally stranded.

"The other day one such came to our office. His case is typical of thousands. It is just another sorrowful tale of victimizing, of which there have been so many during this war. He was brought to Germany by the alluring promises of an employment agent but on arriving was forced to do hard manual labor. In accordance with the decree mentioned above he was turned out of his job. Unable to get work because no foreigners were permitted to be employed, he was obliged to sell his clothing piece by piece, and finally had to give up his room because he

could not pay the rent for it. Giving up his room meant that he was deprived of his food cards, and thus without money, food, or friends, he stumbled on to us.

"We immediately wrote to the police authorities protesting that the Germans were responsible for the fact that he was in the country and that it would be up to them to provide at least food for him. Fortunately our protest succeeded and food cards were issued him enabling him to secure food at least. We next appealed to the local police authorities for permission for him to sleep in our office, which was fortunately granted. We have given him work as a packer and general errand boy and thus are helping to tide him over the present pitiful situation. Needless to say, he is anxious to get home. On questioning him further I learned that every now and then a trainload of similarly stranded men is shipped back by the German authorities to Poland, but this is done only in cases where they are able to pay their own railway fare. Unfortunately most of these individuals have used up, in trying to keep alive since they were thrown out of employment, what little reserve funds they had accumulated and hence cannot avail themselves of the proposition.

"Another case which is typical of many these days is that of our former packer. You will recall that he left us several months ago to work in the munition factories, attracted there by the better wages which were paid. In the struggle to provide adequate food for wife and baby he went into the country to buy up, if possible, some potatoes for his family. On the way home he stole some geese but was caught and has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment—the crime being the stealing of food for his hungry wife and baby. The wife is now looking to us for work and help. Thus one tragedy after another runs by—unnoticed by the world at large, and yet so full of human suffering. The joy of life is gone for most of these people. Pessimism and bitterness ensue. It is for such as these that sympathetic friendship such as we can give is needed more than anything else. More than ever we need the Good Samaritan spirit."

March 16th.

"The strike and attendant troubles of the past two weeks are over, but I fear only for a very short time. Another general

strike has been announced, so rumor has it, to take place beginning March 26th, and this time to extend all over Germany simultaneously. During the entire past week the territory in the immediate vicinity of our office has been closed to public traffic. All of us had to secure special certificates of identification from War Minister Noske in order to get past the guards and to our office. Barbed wire barricades were present everywhere. Yesterday I went over to Alexander Place, where the most serious fighting had occurred. The region certainly looked it. The buildings are all more or less badly shot up and scarcely a whole window is left in the entire neighborhood. The casualties, including killed and wounded, run into the thousands. Every imaginable technical appliance of modern warfare was utilized by the government troops to rout out the Spartacists who had intrenched themselves in this section. Bombs were dropped from aeroplanes; flame throwers were utilized; heavy caliber guns, poison gas shells, and machine guns all found their use."

March 24th.

"The papers are full of the recent events which have occurred in Hungary and everyone is speculating as to what consequences will follow so far as the spirit of Bolshevism in Germany and Austria is concerned. That the Hungarians have joined the ranks of the Russian Bolsheviki is sure to prove a great encouragement to the Spartacists here. It is not for us to criticize, but one cannot help wondering whether it would have come to this had the Entente been quicker in coming to terms with defeated Central Europe. I fear the fevered haste at present to bring peace within a week, as the papers announce, comes too late.

"We are experiencing an unusual calm in political circles, which bodes ill for the immediate future. The general strike which rumor declared was to break out beginning tomorrow apparently will not take place, but is being postponed until conditions are more propitious. The whole situation is pregnant with great decisive possibilities. In fact it seems as though we are heading toward another war in which the Russian Bolshevik idea will battle for world supremacy with the Western Allied principles of democracy. An alliance between Germany and Russia is not an impossibility. There are many, especially in the ranks of

the Spartacists, who count on such an alliance as a certainty. The first food ships from America are to arrive in Hamburg tomorrow. They will probably postpone or check temporarily the Bolshevik wave, but I fear they arrive too late to defeat successfully or to stem the tide of Bolshevism. They should have come two months ago and with them plenty of raw material for manufactures. Hungry, unemployed masses are unusually fertile ground for seeds of dissension and revolution such as the Bolsheviki or Spartacists are sowing."

CHAPTER XXV

THE GERMAN CHURCH AT HOME AND ABROAD

From a letter written May 11th:

"This evening I went to church, the first time in ages, for the nationalistic type of sermon usually preached does not appeal to me. Naturally the sermon was on the peace terms which have become public during the past week. The minister very cleverly expounded the text, 'Blessed are they that suffer, for they shall be comforted.' Throughout the implication was made that the Entente were the ones whom God would punish, that the German people, the chosen of God, must like Jesus suffer before going to the full reward that God would provide for his chosen people. He concluded by quoting the last few verses of the Twenty-third Psalm. That the Germans had done any wrong was not even implied, much less any mention made of it. The one hopeful sign was the preacher's challenge to the audience that through the inflicted suffering they would find their own souls. This thought was well carried out through the verse, 'What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?' which he revised as follows, 'What shall it harm a man if he lose the whole world but find his soul?' There was no thought of repentance nor confession of wrong in his entire sermon. He is one of the old conservative school.

"Fortunately, there is a younger and more rational element in the ministry from whom much may be expected. Not only has the revolution affected the political and industrial life and organization of the country, but also the religious and church life. I recall one clergyman, who told of the schism that had occurred in the ministerial staff of the church of which he was one of the pastors; it seems that the younger pastors expressed approval of Wilson and his idealism as well as rather liberal views with reference to church organization under the new order. The older men virtually ostracized the young progressive pastors. Such disharmony is occurring in other churches for similar reasons.

"I have recently received tentative plans for the revision or reorganization of the churches on a more liberal basis and in accord with the feeling which is becoming prevalent that sooner or later church and state will be separated.

"The proposed changes to be made in the constitution and program of the German Church, as expressed in these plans, embody a number of ideas that are of real interest. They include, among other things, the demand that the individual congregations should have the right to choose their own pastors, since no congregation can be compelled or expected to accept a pastor forced upon it by the heads of the Synod. In connection with the congregational life the following recommendations are made: First, the cooperation of lay men and women for independent work in financial affairs, care of the poor, care of the young, and in ladies' aids and missionary societies. Under the heading, 'The nature of the ritual services in the Church,' a most important recommendation is that the churches be made available for religious lectures followed by discussions under the leadership of laymen. Second, permission to use the churches for people's concerts as well as other forms of uplifting entertainments. Under the heading, 'Relationship between Church and school' the request is made that the pastors no longer be held responsible for the spiritual superintendence of the schools and that they be relieved from the necessity of religious instruction in the schools. Under the heading of 'Development of the social spirit' it is interesting to note that the parties strongly recommend participation of the Church in such matters as the land tenantry movement, the prohibition movement, the people's theater, education of the masses, and high schools for the people. The Church is also urged to engage actively in the fight against profiteering, against all sins of capitalism, against class distinctions whether from the right or the left—in fact to participate in every manner possible in matters dealing with social reconciliation. The abolishment of paid pews is also strongly recommended.

"The concluding suggestion is one of vital importance and if carried out it will demonstrate, perhaps more than any other, the new spirit which is taking possession not only in the ranks of the masses but even in the Church, which heretofore was but

a paid instrument of the State. Under the heading of 'Cultivation of the peace ideal' the following is recommended: 'Energetic emphasis on the international character of the Gospel, which excludes racial and national hatreds, which places the principles of righteousness in place of imperialistic diplomacy, and which demands equal rights and enlightenment for all members of the human family.' The concluding sentence reads as follows: 'Thus the people's Church will become the communion of all those who desire to live in the spirit of Jesus Christ. She will become the conscience of the people and lead the way to truth, liberty, and purity.'

"These are hopeful signs for the new Church of Germany. Much helpful service could be rendered by our own churches if it were possible to send acceptable representatives over to confer and to advise with these new leaders of the new Church."

Just prior to the departure of the German peace delegation to Paris considerable agitation was resorted to, in urging the people to be cautious and to eliminate all thought of revenge. The following two announcements are typical:

"We are on the eve of a world epoch. The peace which is now to be concluded must bring a new age; not an age of murder and violence, but years filled with peace and reconciliation. The peoples of the earth shall no longer murder each other and bleed as victims of those desiring power. They shall work and shall respect the achievements of each other. The peoples no longer will permit governments which because of the desire for might outrage right. We wish a peace of righteousness and justice. To achieve this the German people have appointed a peace delegation. The peace delegation departs within a few days. If the delegation in the conferences demands a peace of justice and righteousness and protests against a peace of might, the entire German people will be back of it. The time of those who separated politics and morals is gone. We demand a real peace, not a condition which must have as a consequence hate, violence, and new wars. We ask for a peace that shall be a real peace. Away with all imperialistic diplomacy. We want peace and nothing but justice."

This appeared in an extra paper:

"We are on the eve of the preliminary peace negotiations. Fellow-citizens, the peace delegation is about to depart. Its task is to make secure the peace which it negotiates. There-

fore the delegation can only sign a peace in which revenge is forever eliminated. Through its activities it must not in any way make the German people again suffer possible new wars by recognizing might as right. The peace delegation must not tolerate that any people are robbed of that which, on national and historical grounds, is its undeniable right. The reactionaries and Chauvinists of all lands are lying low for the opportunity to poison the youth of the world anew with bloodthirsty, revengeful ideas. Fellow-citizens, Germany does not wish any revenge ideas. The world must be able to look forward to a permanent peace. It hungers for salvation. You must demand from your leaders that they refuse absolutely every imperialistic policy. Down with all revenge ideas! Down with every type of imperialism."

After the terms of the peace treaty were announced I wrote as follows:

"As a protest against the peace terms a week of mourning has been proclaimed. This began last night and is to continue throughout the week. There is to be no cafe music, no dancing, no vaudeville, no racing; all amusement parks are to be closed and only serious educational or moral plays are to be given in the theaters. Today there were large protest mass meetings throughout the city and on Tuesday a tremendous demonstration is to take place. It is not pleasant for Americans at present. Condemnation of Wilson, America, and Americans as hypocrites is most bitter. Our army headquarters has issued orders that all Americans in uniform shall remain indoors because of possible violence by some unscrupulous German. Posters throughout the city present extracts from speeches made by Wilson with their dates, together with extracts from the peace terms dealing with corresponding subjects, the whole being an attempt to demonstrate the inconsistency between Wilson's promises and the actual terms submitted to the Germans for acceptance.

"Considerable agitation has also been inaugurated against the retention of the German prisoners of war by the Allied Powers and the proposed utilization of them for reconstruction work in northern France and Belgium. It is reported that an offer has been made by the German authorities in which they propose to furnish free labor for this reconstruction work, on the plea that the prisoners of war have suffered both physically and men-

tally to such a degree during the long years of imprisonment that the thought of continued imprisonment, after the peace terms have been ratified, would be unendurable to them."

In connection with the chapter in the peace treaty which dealt with the German missions in India, Africa, and other colonial possessions, most vigorous protest was made by the missionary leaders of Germany, notably Carl Axenfeld, who represented the German missionary societies on the peace delegation from Germany. Under date of April 8, 1919, Dr. Axenfeld published a special pamphlet entitled "Germany's Fight for the Freedom of Christian Missions," which protests strongly against the expulsion of all German missionaries from the colonial possessions of the world. His concluding sentence is typical of the entire pamphlet: "Return the missionary fields to the German Christians. You who maintained that you were drawn into the fight for the ideals of humanity must permit the service of the messengers of Christ to take place spontaneously and without limitations in the manner which such royal service has a right to demand," the reference being obviously to Americans.

Temporarily at least, all German missions in colonial fields have been taken over by Allied or neutral interests. No one denies that in many fields these German missions were most efficient and did much for the furtherance of Christianity in the fields concerned. It is perhaps equally true that in some cases the missions were utilized as centers for propagating German ideals and ideas. Whether or not the supervision of the missions will ever be returned to the Germans is questionable. From the standpoint of international Christianity, however, it would seem advisable that very soon, at least as soon as Germany is permitted to enter the League of Nations, these missions should be again returned to her as a field of endeavor for her missionaries.

The German school system was one which did not permit the more intelligent pupil to advance in accordance with his knowledge. He was held back with the rest of his class until the entire class had advanced. A movement which gained tremendous acceleration immediately after the revolution succeeded in changing this system, the slogan utilized in the campaign being *"Freie Bahn dem Tüchtigen,"* "Free road ahead for the competent one."

It is probably known that the ordinary boy or girl in Germany was unable to attend the universities. Unlike our institutions, where the students are able to earn all or part of their expenses, no such arrangement existed in Germany. Furthermore, any student who attempted thus to earn his expenses would immediately have been ostracized by his fellow-classmates. As a result, the universities were open only to such individuals as had adequate funds to pay the expenses involved. The War, fortunately, has been the means of breaking down these restrictions and no doubt many men and women will be able to attend the universities as a result of the democratization which has taken place in all phases of Germany's life—political, religious, social, and educational.

In the universities the complexion of the student body was changed during the War. Prior to the War very few German universities permitted women students; furthermore, in those where they were permitted they were not entitled to a degree. The large numbers of students who entered the Army greatly reduced the university enrolment. To maintain the work of the universities women students were admitted. They eagerly took advantage of the new liberty thus granted them. As a result, in many of the universities at the present time there are more women than men students, and in practically all schools they are now granted degrees. Recently announcement was made of the first woman professor in one of the German universities.

It will be interesting in this connection also to refer to one of the first edicts issued by Adolf Hoffman, the first Minister of Education under the new republican form of government. In this, demand was made for the removal from all history textbooks of references glorifying warfare and militarism; furthermore, songs of a similar nature were to be abolished. It was proposed to treat history not so much from the standpoint of military achievements as on an economic basis. All references which in any way would tend to arouse animosity toward other peoples or nations were likewise to be removed. I was not able to ascertain whether this edict actually went into effect, but it is at least significant of the remarkable changes that have occurred in the German life and thought since the revolution.

Among the young similar movements and changes are taking place, especially with reference to child training. The old idea of rigid discipline which creates in the child fear rather than trust is giving way to one of greater freedom, in which the play spirit is to have an important part. It is no exaggeration to say that the German child does not know how to play. Obedient and submissive to a degree only possible under a military regime, the child of Germany has grown up with but little conception of the spirit of fair play. To avoid punishment he has done everything in his power to conceal his misdeeds. No doubt this same spirit of a lack of fair play is responsible for some of the things of which the German soldiers are reported to have been guilty. The German language has no word which signifies what we mean by fair play. Its closest approach is the term which we would translate as "righteousness," with the suggestion of legal right and wrong.

CHAPTER XXVI

RUSSIAN PRISONERS AND THEIR GUARDS

Contrary to all expectation, the repatriation of the Allied prisoners of war in Germany took place and proceeded far more rapidly than had been supposed possible. Slow to get under way, it went by leaps and bounds as soon as proper organization had been perfected. By the end of January practically all British, French, Italian, Belgian, and American prisoners of war had been repatriated. A few of the more severely wounded and ill were still in various hospitals and the respective commissions appealed to us for assistance in connection with these men. Through the help of our secretaries we were able to give proper attention to these unfortunate convalescent men. Several of them were transported by us and escorted to the harbors of embarkation and thus were sent home for better medical treatment and the wholesome effect of home ties in perfecting cures.

With reference to the Russian prisoners of war little if anything was said in the armistice terms. It seems that immediately after the signing of the armistice the Germans began to repatriate the Russians. The change of opinion occasioned by the revolution led to a desire to deal fairly with them; no doubt the difficulty of providing properly for them was a large factor in determining the matter, for it must be remembered that large numbers of the German soldiers who had returned from the front were without work, and with a million or more Russians engaged in rural and other occupations great difficulty was experienced in providing adequate employment for the German soldiers. This led to the order previously mentioned, whereby the employment of enemy aliens was prohibited. Scarcity of food further increased the difficulties of proper provision for the Russians.

It will be recalled that in the early days of the repatriation of the Allied prisoners of war, immediately after the signing of the armistice, hundreds upon hundreds of Russians from the

small working commandos had returned to the parent camps in anticipation of similar early repatriation. Among these, and no doubt for several months previous, agents of the Russian Bolsheviki had apparently sown seeds of dissension and conducted an intensive propaganda with material furnished by Joffe, the Russian ambassador in Berlin. It is well known that Joffe soon after the revolution was requested by the German Provisional Government to leave the country because of the discovery made that, under the pretense of relief work on behalf of the Russian prisoners, he had been receiving large quantities of Bolshevik literature for circulation among the prisoners and no doubt among the Germans as well. The summary order given demanding his immediate withdrawal occurred too late, for his work had been done. It is possible that certain German parties fully recognized that if the Russians who were thoroughly propagandized and won over to the Bolshevik cause, could be returned immediately, they would greatly reenforce the Red armies of Russia; such reenforcements would mean greater difficulties for the Allies, who were endeavoring to quell the Bolshevik agitation and reign of terror in Russia. On the other hand, their removal from Germany would aid Germany in her efforts to check the progress of Bolshevism which was assuming alarming proportions. No doubt all these factors served to influence the Germans in their desire to get rid of the Russian prisoners of war just as quickly as possible. Thus it was that large numbers of Russian prisoners, privates and officers, were entrained or marched to the German-Russian frontier.

On reaching the frontier the Russian prisoners were given a limited supply of food and were compelled then to walk many miles, because all railway connections had been destroyed between Germany and Russia, and in the winter months many of them succumbed. Those who reached Russia were at once seized by the Bolshevik forces and confronted by the ultimatum to join them or be shot. Most of the privates chose union with the Bolsheviki to death. The majority of the officers, however, refused to join the Bolsheviki and many were shot in cold blood as a result. In Berlin a report was circulated telling of the murder in this way of some 800 Russian officers.

The Allied commissions in Berlin, aware of what was taking

place and no doubt conscious of the underlying motives on the part of the Germans, requested that the repatriation of the Russians cease. The Germans replied that they were compelled to ship these Russians back, for they could not feed them any longer. After extensive negotiations it was finally agreed that the Russians should be retained in Germany and that the Allies provide all supplementary food and clothing for them; furthermore, that the Allies should be permitted to send in supervisory detachments to each of the camps where Allied food was to be distributed on the basis of the agreement arrived at. This agreement was put into definite effect on February 15th.

Our Association at once recognized the great opportunities which this presented and immediately made application to the military authorities, with definite proposals of the nature of the work so desired to do. Unfortunately, it was necessary to get permission first from the American Peace Commission in Paris and second from the American Department of State, and through some misunderstanding or miscarriage of correspondence and cablegrams a long delay resulted before we could actually begin this work, and the opportunity originally presented was largely lost. However, permission was finally secured and we began at once to do what was possible on behalf of these Russian prisoners of war. We no longer were subject to the former German regulations of strict surveillance of our work. In fact we were given comparative freedom, and as a result were able to do much for the men.

The work was conducted on a twofold basis: First, on behalf of the American and British troops or detachments that had been sent to the respective camps, for whom we made adequate provision of books, phonographs, athletic equipment, and the like, and in the second place, for the Russians themselves. It was unnecessary for us to pay any attention to the relief phase of the work, as this was being efficiently cared for by the Allied military commissions. Our function was to provide moral relief in the form of educational, theatrical, athletic, and similar activities. Many of the senior officers of the American detachments assumed full responsibility for these activities within the camps and did a magnificent piece of work with the supplies which we were able to provide them. In several camps athletic con-



MOHAMMEDAN PRISONERS OF WAR BEING DRILLED AND DISCIPLINED IN TRAINING FOR ENTERING THE GERMAN ARMY

The mosque in the background was built as a gift from the German Emperor to the Mohammedans.

tests between the Americans and the Russians were organized. Surprise was invariably expressed at the quickness with which the Russians learned the games taught them by their American tutors. Thus, in one camp, after a few weeks of tutorage, the Russian soccer football team challenged the Americans to a series of games and proved that they were a match for them. The first game ended in a one-to-nothing victory for the Americans, the second in a two-to-nothing victory for the Russians, and the third in a nothing-to-nothing tie. Most amusing were the scenes witnessed when the Russians were learning to box. Clumsy, awkward, and slow at first, they rapidly became experts in the fine art of the game.

In connection with the work on behalf of the Russian prisoners of war which was done by us after February 15, 1919, there are many things which could be said. The far more liberal permissions which were possible, now that the War had come to an end and inter-Allied military missions were the official authorities to whom we had to apply, made it possible to enlarge the scope of our work greatly. Our camp secretaries had complete freedom within the camps and in several cases lived there with the American detachment. This gave great opportunities for fellowship, not only with the men of the detachments but especially with the prisoners of war. In all cases special committees were organized to be responsible for the activities proposed. Access to supplies in neutral countries was also made possible through the more liberal regulations which had been introduced since the revolution in Germany. Thus there was no restriction whatsoever on importation of literature.

It is perhaps not generally known that on behalf of the Russian troops fighting for the Allies an army Y M C A work was organized very similar to that conducted in France and in the home camps. Such activity was entirely new to the Russians, and furthermore was the only activity made available for them. Schools were one of the chief types of work promoted, but to take care of them it was necessary to have an abundance of textbooks which were not to be had even in Russia proper. Our office in Berne, Switzerland, was therefore empowered to proceed with the editing and printing of large numbers of appropriate textbooks for use among the Russians, and conducted an ex-

tensive enterprise along this line. These books became available for use in the camps in Germany and proved most effective in promoting the educational activities. With the supplementary food furnished by the Allies we were no longer met by the counter-proposal of the prisoners, when we suggested that schools be organized, "If you give us bread we will then gladly organize schools." The men were being fed far better than they had been the past year or two and hence were open to suggestion along other lines, such as school work, theatricals, sports, and the like. True, all was not easy sailing, for it must be remembered that the large bulk of the prisoners of war were Bolsheviki, having become so as a result of the propaganda distributed by the colleagues of Joffe during his short term as Ambassador to Berlin. It seems each camp had one or two prisoners, if not more, who were members of the radical element and assumed responsibility for sowing the seeds of Bolshevism. The committees in charge of the camps were invariably of Bolshevik tendencies. In the organization of sports we were confronted by their active opposition. It frequently occurred that we were anxious to take photographs of the various athletic activities, but were invariably met with a flat refusal on the part of the prisoners to be photographed, their argument being that these photographs would be sent to the Allied countries and would create the impression that the condition of the prisoners was satisfactory at least, and would lead the people to believe that the prisoners were content. Such, however, was not the case for every man was anxious to get home, no matter what might be the conditions in the homeland. Efforts were made to convince the prisoners that their lot was far better under the prevalent prison conditions in Germany than it would be were they to return home at the time. But such efforts were of little avail, as can be readily supposed, when one realizes how powerful the pull of home ties is throughout the world.

In several camps when athletic meets were scheduled the Bolshevik element in the camp arranged for a mass meeting to compete with our athletic contests, hoping in this way to discourage us from carrying on our work. Evidently the Bolsheviki realized that activities of this character would make their own agitation more difficult. On the whole, however, our athletic

contests proved the stronger drawing card. In not a few cases it happened that when our athletic contests were scheduled at the same time as a Bolshevik mass meeting, the prisoners all appeared at our program and the Bolsheviki were accordingly forced to postpone their meeting.

In spite of the hardships which many of the Russian prisoners endured, there no doubt are many who will endeavor to remain in Germany and become citizens of the country. We had any number of cases of a Russian prisoner who during his association with the family of the farmer who employed him fell in love with some German damsel and resolved to remain in Germany as a result. German regulations prohibited intercourse of any kind between the German civilian population and the prisoners of war. Similarly, marriages of this character were prohibited, but for prisoners who were sincere in their desire provision was made, granting permission to remain in the country and promising marriage with the girl in question after the War. A letter was addressed to us by one of the Russian prisoners on the assumption that we could be of assistance to the writer in fulfilling his desires, and a literal translation of it reads: "Wish to remain German subject. Do not wish to return to Russia. Signature and address."

In a similar manner we were appealed to time and again to assist individual prisoners in connection with their marriages with German girls. One of the most interesting cases of this character was the letter received from a prisoner in Russia requesting us to negotiate, by correspondence if possible, his marriage with a girl in Austria. He was anxious that she should receive his estate in case he failed to get back to Austria alive.

It has already been stated that in this work on behalf of the Russian prisoners of war we did not neglect the British and American military detachments assigned to the different camps. Complete athletic equipment, phonographs, and in several cases movie machines with a change of films at frequent intervals, were provided. In cooperation with the American Library Association we were able to send each detachment an excellent selection of library books and at regular intervals a good supply of American and English magazines, which were appreciated as much as anything. Similarly, newspapers were sent out

daily to the different camps, thus enabling the members of the respective detachments to keep up to date on current events in world history.

Our Association's experience with the German authorities had made it possible for us to render more or less efficient postal service to the prisoners of war, as well as to the members of the American detachment. Thus, all our parcels which were sent out to the camps apparently received special attention and were quickly forwarded to their destination without the many delays ordinarily associated with the forwarding of foreign mail or parcels. The postal department of the American Military Mission in Berlin served as distributing agent for all mail addressed to American individuals in Germany. As an official agent it was necessary for them, in order to secure free postage for the mail, to refer it to the German War Ministry which then forwarded the material to the camps. The first week or two demonstrated that this was most unsatisfactory, mail sent out from Berlin being often a week or more en route before reaching its destination. There is nothing that provokes a doughboy more than to have delay in the forwarding of his mail, and immediately complaints were received at headquarters concerning the slowness with which mail was reaching the camps. In consultation with the military post office our organization was asked to make suggestions and finally was requested to assume responsibility for the distribution of the mail. This request was complied with and from then on practically all mail for members of the American Military Mission in unoccupied Germany was distributed through the Y M C A. The letters of appreciation received demonstrate that our service was far more efficient and assured quicker delivery than the old method of reference and forwarding through the German War Ministry.

Once or twice a month representatives from each of the twenty-eight camp detachments came to Berlin for supplies from the quartermasters' department and at the same time for supplies from our headquarters. Those were busy days for both departments. New baseball gloves and bats and balls were among the things requested. Phonograph records and moving picture films were returned to be exchanged for new ones; additional material in the way of books, games, theatrical supplies, and the

like, was asked for; in short, there was no limit to the demands made upon us for supplies for these men.

In Berlin proper we opened up a large Foyer in which twice weekly a movie show was given and once a week a dance for the American doughboys who were stationed at the Berlin headquarters. Facilities for the serving of light refreshments, a reading room, writing material, and billiard table, were provided. At the hotels where the men were quartered, both for officers and men phonographs were installed with as extensive an assortment of records as could be secured.

Special efforts were put forth to make the Fourth of July a memorable day for the members of the Mission. For those stationed at Berlin a picnic was arranged. Thanks to the cooperation of certain of the German officials, it was possible to charter a steamboat by means of which the participants were taken out through the wonderful lake section about Berlin to Potsdam, the seat of Sans Souci; and here in the spacious and beautiful grounds of Sans Souci our American doughboys and officers celebrated their Fourth of July, 1919. For the members of the respective camp detachments the best we could do was to send them eggs, condensed milk, and sugar for the preparation of ice cream. These supplies proved a most pleasant surprise and enabled each of the camps to have that luxury, real American ice cream, for their Fourth of July dinner. In a number of cases baseball games were scheduled between teams composed of representatives from different camp detachments, and on the whole a patriotic and enjoyable day was celebrated.

The following letter from Brigadier General George H. Harries, Chief of the American Mission at Berlin, is significant as indicating appreciation of all for the service which the Association endeavored to render:

"Now that the career of this Mission approaches its termination I am surveying the achievements of the faithful—among whom are those who followed the leadership of Mr. Hoffman and yourself.

"Never was there better or more work by few workers than that done by the American Y M C A, whether for our prisoners in German hands, for the Russian prisoners, or for the force of this Mission in Berlin or in the camps.

"Particularly effective were your efforts with respect to the

improvement of Russian morale. Prisoners for more than four years, ill fed, half clad, homesick, and rebellious, they were almost desperate when the Inter-Allied Commission came into control. Every available agency was called upon to assist—save the American Y M C A. It volunteered before anyone could ask for its active interest. Many difficulties confronted Mr. Hoffman, but we managed to push them aside so that you and your staff were then free to accomplish—and you have wrought—miracles. Football, baseball, and other athletic sports, libraries, schools, theaters, and orchestras came to the rescue of hundreds of thousands of those in captivity.

"The combination of the increased rations provided by the Entente and the greatly accelerated physical and mental activity induced by your little corps lifted the prisoners out of dangerous despondency and upset many a threatening conspiracy.

"My hearty thanks to you, to each one of your assistants, and to the Association itself for a priceless contribution to the work of this Mission."

This letter is simply typical of many received from the ranking American and British officers of different camp detachments which further demonstrated that our service was greatly appreciated by them.

The following case illustrates the manner in which we succeeded in winning the respect and admiration of the American doughboys for our service. Immediately upon receiving word that American detachments were to be sent to the different camps a circular letter was sent to each, addressed to the ranking American officer, in which we offered our assistance and stated that we hoped to have an American Y secretary for each camp. In one of the camps this offer apparently was not welcome and we received a letter which very pointedly stated that they had no use for a secretary. Simultaneously a letter was addressed from the same camp to the military headquarters at Berlin in which it was urgently requested that the Mission prevent a secretary from coming to the camp, stating that he would be most unwelcome. Realizing that the men were thus depriving themselves of a real service, for conditions were quite different in Germany from those in France, we persisted and asked for the privilege of at least demonstrating to this camp whether or not we could make good. Our request was granted and within a month's time the attitude, not only of the ranking officer in the

detachment but of the doughboys as well, had been changed to one of appreciation and hearty respect, as is evident from the letter from the ranking officer which follows herewith:

"This detachment will close August 14th and proceed to Berlin on the 15th, from where the same day at midnight we proceed to Coblenz. We will bring with us boxed up phonograph, records, and books. If you have any instructions to give, shoot them at once for time is short. Every man in this detachment appreciates the work you have done for us. The attitude of this detachment towards the Y M C A has been completely changed. One of my men remarked the other day 'that Y M C A guy in Berlin sure hits the ball.' "

CHAPTER XXVII

A CONCLUDING JUDGMENT

The work thus carried on was continued until August 15, 1919, the date of departure of the American Military Mission from Berlin. The writer was fortunate early in June to secure authorization for his return to the States, arriving here just three days short of four years from the time he had left for the expected two months' service with Dr. Mott's "flying squadron."

In retrospect the following thoughts occur to the author. Germany has been most disastrously and ingloriously defeated in a war for which the German Junkers and Prussian militarists were responsible rather than the German people. The latter, through centuries of superimposed discipline of a most intensive and rigid type and through a system most efficient in the utilization of school, church, and all other agencies for propagating its militaristic ideas, were thoroughly cowed into submission and imbued with the belief that their ruling superiors were supreme and right. All attempts by individuals or groups to oppose the Government, were quickly and severely crushed. Today the German people recognize how far they were misled by these intriguing and shrewd superiors.

When President Wilson made his statement that the world, and America in particular, was not fighting the German people but the system represented by the Kaiser and Prussian militarism, the people after preliminary resentment gradually accepted his statement. The revolution resulted in the overthrow of the system and of the leaders to whom the War is generally attributed. Having thus caused the downfall of the system, the people fully expected to be dealt with in accordance with the various promises made. However, the negotiations relative to the peace terms, which were from time to time made public in Germany, soon brought disillusionment. The people had come to look upon President Wilson as all-powerful, as sincere, and above all as just. To them the peace terms were inconsistent

with the talk about justice, righteousness, and humanity they had heard. Deceived by their own old-time superiors, they grasped at the promises of Wilson, in full confidence that here was a just and ideal man. The peace terms destroyed this confidence, and they believed themselves again deceived. Despair of any good in the world, of any sense of justice and righteousness in the world, has taken possession of many.

Such is the situation today. With Spartacist agitation from the left, monarchistic intrigue from the right, and internally the most woeful state of chaos—due to suspension of many industries and resultant non-employment, and above all to the aggravating food and fuel conditions—despair prevails. The future alone can reveal what will take place; one cannot predict.

The world demands that Germany forever surrender the Prussian militaristic principle of might, that she adopt and incorporate democratic principles and ideals into her life as a nation. On the other hand, Germany is still ostracized from the society of nations.

Tradesmen, lured by the most advantageous rate of exchange, have entered Germany in the hope of booty. Socialistic agencies have entered and are hard at work. It is high time, now that Germany has been defeated, that the hand of Christian helpfulness and fellowship be extended to the German people. They need encouragement in their efforts to become a democracy welcome in the society of nations. They need sympathy for a renewal of their faith in mankind and God. With the children of Belgium and northern France, Poland, Armenia, and Austria, one must as a Christian nation include the children of Germany for they, too, are innocent victims of war's ruthlessness.

Much has been said about the cruelty shown in the treatment of the Allied prisoners of war in Germany. The writer frankly admits that there were instances of this, but in the feverish heat of desire to arouse sentiment against Germany these cases have been generalized and described as representing the universal condition of the prison camps in Germany. Conditions behind the lines and in the occupied territory, as well as in the reprisal camps, are not included in the present considerations.

The writer feels justified and qualified, on the basis of his four years' experience during which some ninety camps were

visited one or more times, to state that the treatment of the prisoners of war in Germany was as good as could be expected under the prevalent conditions.

Food parcels sent to prisoners of war in camps were invariably issued; on the other hand, parcels sent men behind the lines or in the occupied territory rarely reached their destination. When food was at such a premium that the temptation to steal became increasingly irresistible, many parcels and the contents of others were taken, not by the German Government, but by the many employes who handled the parcels en route. The Government did everything in its power to prevent these thefts, which occurred also in connection with parcels sent German soldiers at the front by their German relatives. Our office invariably received remuneration for any parcels and their contents which had been sent by us and which we were able to show had failed to reach the prisoners. Those who were caught stealing were punished severely. Most if not all of the camp commandants with whom we had to deal and who had Russian, Roumanian, or Serbian prisoners of war under them, appealed to us time and again for assistance in securing food for their prisoners. It was impossible for them to secure it, and the only hope was through some agency that had contact with the outside world.

One should not forget that even after America's entry into the War, the author, an American, was permitted to remain and to continue an extensive relief work on behalf of the enemy prisoners in Germany. One wonders whether a German would have been permitted in any of the Allied countries to move about as freely and to serve as extensively the German prisoners of war, as the writer was permitted to do in his service of Allied prisoners in Germany. The writer, while fully conscious of the cases of maltreatment of prisoners in Germany, does feel that some thought should be given to the far larger numbers of cases of unusually good treatment. One should remember that in the land of Huns, as Germany has been called, there were men considerate and sympathetic, sincere in their desire to do justly by the prisoners in their charge.

The writer wishes especially to call the attention of the many thousands of Americans who gave so liberally to the funds first raised by Dr. John R. Mott and later to the Student Friendship

Fund, to the fact that the work done on behalf of the prisoners of war which has been here described was made possible wholly and entirely as a result of their gifts. The prisoners were men who were in need most of all of the expression of friendship, and the work that has been described, which was made possible by the Student Friendship Fund, brought to them not only the message of friendship but with it new hope and encouragement, new faith in mankind and in God.

APPENDIX I

LETTERS OF APPRECIATION FROM PRISONERS OF WAR

Muncheberg 1/ March

Mr. Conrad Hoffman:
Dear Sir:

We leave in half an hour for Stettin, therefore these few lines to thank you for all you have done for us while in captivity. Words cannot express all that I wish to say, but my heart will in the near future repay for all you have done. The boys here wish the best of luck to you and only hope you are on the same boat home with us. Thank Mr. Husband for us for getting us out of the country as he said.

With the best of wishes to you, I remain

Truly yours,
Frank Brooks (an American).

Stendal, May 19, 1917

I beg to acknowledge with the greatest gratitude receipt of a case of magazines and books which we have added to our library. The magazines were especially delightful. Some of them have already been sent to our hospital and working parties.

I ask you therefore on behalf of these men who are unable to express their appreciation on their own account, to accept our deepest thanks for your kindness.

We were very happy to see Mr. Schaetti here yesterday and he gave us a beautiful address.

Yours faithfully,
Harold M. Purser, Sergt. 15th Canadians, Secretary

From a rabbi:

In my returning the letter which you so kindly sent to me, I wish to tell you of my joy and gratitude for the tolerant and impartial way in which you are serving those of my faith. Your service is indicative of the spirit of true and genuine religion which demands respect and recognition from one of another faith. It strengthens the hope in me for a time of fraternalism and Christian love among men. May I assure you that your noble efforts have found the proper response in me. In this spirit I take pleasure in assuring you of my heartiest cooperation at all times.

With sincerest regards and highest esteem,

From a Serbian officer:

Immediately upon receipt of your letter I made arrangements to secure the names of the most needy among my countrymen; there are altogether too many of us to give you the names of all. I therefore give

you herewith the names of those who are in greatest need. These are in part old and weak, in part sick. None have had any assistance from any source, and we should be deeply indebted to you if you could assist them in any way. What they need most are strengthening foods such as meat, bacon, rice, sugar, and bread, if possible.

At the same time I wish to thank you for the thirteen parcels which you have already sent to us. I saw old soldiers who have taken part in four wars, break down in tears on receipt of your parcels. May God reward you! With the hope that you will continue to think of us poor and forsaken ones, I remain in the name of my Serbian brothers,

Yours eternally thankful,

_____.

From a Russian Lieutenant, chairman of a camp relief committee:

In the name of the imprisoned Russians in Camp ..... the Russian Relief Committee begs to express its sincerest and deepest thanks to you for the help given us for our sick comrades. The gift of condensed milk caused the eyes of many of our seriously ill comrades to lighten up in grateful surprise. The generous sympathy and compassion, the realization that we are not entirely forgotten in this foreign land, help many a despairing one to new hope, and bring a bright beam of sunshine into their existence.

May this magnanimity some day be rewarded is the wish of all the sick and weak in our camp, and the Russian Relief Committee.

Doberitz, Dec. 17, 1915

Dear Sir:

The French prisoners of war take pleasure in conveying to you their thanks for the good work that you have been able to organize in the camp at Doberitz as a result of your successful efforts and splendid help.

The above prisoners would be very grateful if you would act as their interpreter to the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association and assure them of their highest esteem and gratefulness.

E. Guesnu
R. Offroy

Zerbst, Anhalt Nov. 11, 1918

The Y M C A, Berlin

Gentlemen:

Before our departure for our homeland, allow us to thank you very heartily for the splendid assistance you have given us.

The good work of your Association will be long remembered by British prisoners of war; no matter what we asked for, you were ever and always willing to supply it for us.

In Mr. Schaetti we all found a very true friend and many Britishers have good cause to be grateful to his splendid services. The present committee of this camp can also thank him for being put in touch with their own committees so quickly; so once again let us thank you one and all for your good and charitable work and may God bless you, is the wish of

Yours very sincerely,

Charles A. Atkinson, Sgt. 16th Australians, President

APPENDIX II

AN AMERICAN WOMAN IN BERLIN

[The following account by Mrs. Conrad Hoffman of the war-time regulations concerning food and clothing gives a picture from the housekeeper's standpoint of the actual conditions which prevailed.]

Our three-year-old daughter and I joined Mr. Hoffman in Berlin in December, 1915, and we began housekeeping in a furnished apartment in Wilmersdorf. My first efforts to adjust myself to my surroundings in a strange land, while I struggled with an unfamiliar language, have given me a deep sympathy with the foreigners whom I see now in America.

During December, 1915, and January, 1916, the only food cards in use were bread cards, and they seemed to be only a precautionary measure, since there was always plenty of dark bread and a kind of crusty biscuit, almost white, on the market. I used to wonder where we had acquired the idea at home that there was starvation in Germany. However, toward the end of January I found that I could not always get as much butter as I asked for, as the dealers would not always have enough on hand. This was also true with milk; it would be necessary occasionally to go more than once a day in order to secure enough. Rumors began to circulate that butter would soon disappear from the market.

By the first of February the situation had become serious enough to require regulating, so the order was issued that only a quarter of a pound of butter could be had at a time, and that dealers would have to mark on the customers' bread card that the allowance had been bought for the week. Then the task of supplying one's family became increasingly difficult. At first it meant only the necessity of going to several shops before one could be supplied; then came the time when shops put up a notice as to the day on which butter would be on hand; and finally not only the day, but the hour. Then began the standing in line four abreast, to wait for the time set in order to secure some before the supply was exhausted, "*ausverkauft*" (sold out), a word I learned too thoroughly in the months that followed ever to forget.

This system of having the center of the bread cards marked for everything as it became scarce, until the proper cards could be printed and distributed, was followed all that spring, one item after another being added to the list. Butter cards were issued in May, first for half a pound a week, then a quarter pound, gradually decreasing until by the end of the year it was two ounces. Next came sugar, bought on bread cards in May; sugar cards were issued in June, the amount decreasing, too, until it was one pound per person a month, except for children under ten, who received one and a half pounds. Soap was next, first bought on bread cards in April, though the soap cards were not issued until August. Then came what was the hardest of all for the meat-eating Germans, the scarcity of meat. It was then that I heard the first complaints against the "*Regierung*," those in charge of the distribution of food; and it was then that I first saw men as well as women standing in line.

The first demonstration of unrest came early in May, when a butcher

in Charlottenburg was discovered hiding some fifty sides of precious bacon, waiting for higher prices, and fresh meat to be made into sausage for which he could demand high prices, there being no price fixed by law on sausages as on other meats. At midnight a crowd of women turned out and stoned his place, breaking all the windows and doing as much damage as they could. Then they proceeded to storm the shop of a dealer who had canned vegetables and fruit and also sold tobacco, and who had refused to sell food unless tobacco was purchased at the same time. That was the only sign of a food riot that took place in Berlin as long as I was there, though there were reports to the contrary.

In June the regular meat cards were issued, in July potato cards. Milk cards had been issued as early as March but their use was not strictly enforced till several months later, when milk became so very scarce that families without children received no milk unless able to produce a doctor's certificate showing illness that required it; children between six and ten received skimmed milk, whereas those under six received graduated amounts of whole milk according to age. With a child just four years old we were entitled to three-quarters of a quart a day. From then on everything became scarce. By the fall of 1916 there was practically nothing to be had in unlimited quantities, and stores began to look empty.

The system of distributing cards was well worked out; the committees in charge, usually consisting of two girl clerks and one man, had offices in the various schools. Lists of names were furnished by the police department and also by the porters or janitors of the different apartment houses, each being required to hand in a list of families. When the cards were ready for distribution, notice was posted on the bulletin boards and the janitors were required to be present at a certain hour with the house lists. Each then received his quota of cards, the serial numbers being entered on a book opposite the name of each householder. Individuals, therefore, never needed to see these committees except in a case of appeal, when cards were lost, or a family tried to get a little extra bread. Families with children twelve to eighteen years of age were usually granted extra bread cards, as growing children of that age require more than adults. Men who did hard manual labor sometimes were also allowed extra coupons. Nursing mothers received bread cards for the babies, giving the mothers the needed double allowance. There was also provision made under doctor's orders, for milk for expectant and nursing mothers.

It must be borne in mind that possession of cards and money did not insure the procuring of food. The long hours of standing in line for food became a real menace to the health, strength, and morale of the women, the hours becoming so long finally that everyone sat sewing, knitting, or reading—anything to keep busy. Homes and children were neglected, the mere gathering of a little food taking a housekeeper's entire time. I stood more than once from one to seven P. M. to carry home half a peck of potatoes. After I began helping with the work in the office I secured a maid, who did most of the standing, though when potatoes became so scarce in the winter of 1916 that dealers on the open market would give a customer only a few pounds regardless of how many cards she held, we worked together. I would go before the market was open and take my place while she finished the housework at home; then she would come and take my advanced position with her basket and card, and I would go to the rear of another line formed at another dealer's and gradually work up

till she had bought and taken home the first lot of potatoes. Then she would take my place and I would go to the rear of another column, and in that way by working a whole afternoon we would accumulate enough potatoes for the week. This very American way of solving a difficult problem amused my German acquaintances very much.

When conditions at last became so serious that women would stand from ten o'clock at night until seven the next morning when the meat shops would open, in order to be near the beginning of the line and so obtain meat, measures were taken to relieve the situation. We were required to register at the various shops where we decided we wanted to buy various items, such as milk, butter, and meat, taking with us the bread cards for the family, and surrendering the middle portion of them which the dealer used as certificates showing how many customers had enrolled with him. We were then compelled to buy those articles at the designated store, for as long as the card was issued, usually a month for milk, eggs, and meat, six weeks for sugar, longer for potatoes. When the cards expired one was privileged to change dealers if there had been any cause for dissatisfaction. Arrangements were made also whereby the poor, who even in peace times ate very little meat, could exchange their meat cards for certificates entitling them to various cereals. Each dealer was then supplied with the amount allowed him according to his trade, and things went much more smoothly. The cards were good only on certain days, in order to distribute the trade through the week.

The one exception to this was the meat card, meat being so scarce that it did not pay to keep the stores open, so we were all given a number and three times a week notice would be put in the window stating which numbers were to be accommodated. I well remember mine was 374. For quite a while, by dint of being very humble and painstakingly polite, I was able to get my pound and three quarters of meat and bones on Saturday—half a pound for each adult and a quarter pound for the child—The last weeks before I left Berlin, however, even that became out of the question, so one of us had to go every day to see if 374 was on exhibition in the window. One did not enter the market and say, "I would like a piece of sirloin beef"; one patiently awaited one's turn, and then meekly handing over the cards took whatever was handed out, and paid what was asked, without question. Pork being the scarcest of all meats, and at the same time the most popular, record was kept, each customer receiving pork about every three weeks, and the name and date being entered in the dealer's books. As the only fats available were the two ounces of butter per person each week and an equal amount of what was called oleo, but which to judge from the odor when frying with it must have been fish oil, one had to have a little leaf lard or suet occasionally. Those weeks we had no meat, as the allowance of fat had to be taken on the meat cards in lieu of meat. It was the same with flour; one had to sacrifice 400 grams of bread in order to secure 250, or a little more than half a pound, of flour. It is difficult for one who did not experience this gradual and increasing scarcity, to understand how completely food disappeared. I would send out the maid with a bill morning after morning, telling her to buy anything to eat she could find, only to have my bill unbroken.

Dealers would not sell anything to a customer who did not provide a bag or paper in which to carry things home, even bread. I never ceased to be amused at the triumphant look on the faces of women, rich

or poor, as they emerged from a store with a little package of butter in their hands. When any special sale was to be held at which one could secure a little supposed-to-be-jam, a few ounces of coarse oatmeal, or barley so large and coarse it had to be put through a coffee grinder before it would cook at all, notice was put up on the bulletin pillars on the street corners. These advertising places were always surrounded by people hoping to read of something special to be had in the line of food. I know that personally I never passed a pillar, even if I had scanned it several times that very day, without giving it another careful perusal. One day in a strange section of the city Louise and I passed a meat shop where the owner had somehow procured a little bacon. The child was wildly excited, and the instant her father entered the house that evening she danced around exclaiming, "Papa, I saw bacon today, I saw bacon today." And the first day we were in Switzerland, when, as a result of our country's entry into the War it seemed best that the little girl and I return home, and we stood in front of a meat market in Lucerne with its windows filled with meat and sausage, Louise sighed and said, "I didn't know there was that much meat in all the world."

During the summer of 1916 it became evident that conservation of cotton and woolen goods was necessary if the supply was to last the civilian population and provide clothes for the soldiers on their return from war, as no raw material of any kind was coming into the country. Wild rumors were circulated that after September no clothing would be available. The official notice, however, quieted these rumors. This stated that in September all stores were to be closed until an accurate count could be made of all clothing stock, and the results of the inventory sent in and tabulated, so that the true situation might be ascertained. It was then announced that the stores could sell without restriction twenty per cent of all the dry goods on hand. The balance was to be sold under elaborate restrictions.

To facilitate the issuance of the necessary permits, the following method was employed: Stores were rented in each of the various sections or precincts of Berlin, usually coinciding with the school district, one store in each district. The work of recording and issuing permits was done usually by women of means and education, who volunteered their services. There were several on duty, who were ready not only to issue permits, but to advise the women how to cook, what and where to buy, how to care best for their children, and where to find the government doctors who treated them without charge.

A card was made out for each family, with the full name of the head of the house, his address, occupation, etc. When a permit was sought, a request blank had to be filled out, which was afterward put on file. The item desired, the name of the person for whom it was intended, and the date were then entered on the family card, and the permit filled out. When one purchased the article the permit had to be shown to the cashier.

Throughout all the gradually increasing hardships and lack of necessaries, it was always a marvel to me how appearances were kept up in Berlin. Soap disappeared, yet everyone was clean, the children's aprons as white as ever; starch followed the soap, and yet the laundries turned out collars and shirts as stiff as formerly. As quickly as an article was no longer to be had, a substitute was on hand, "*Ersatz*," the German word for substitute, taking rank in my memory with that other sad word,

"*Ausverkauft.*" And when the substitutes failed, substitutes for the substitutes were put on the market. Cafés, theaters, and concert halls seemed to flourish as of old. But beneath the surface, to those who were thoughtful, was the evidence of an entire nation being slowly but surely crushed, industrially and economically, the health and strength of the people terribly undermined, a process bitterly sad to see even in the enemy's country.

Leather for shoes became increasingly scarce. But here, as with food, substitutes were quickly put on the market. Many were the contrivances devised to conserve shoe leather. Wooden soles were common; children went barefoot as long as weather permitted. I recall a flexible iron wire sole made on the principle of certain of our metal doormats, which was especially effective. I frequently saw college girls coming out of the school buildings, all barefoot in wooden sandals, thus saving both stockings and shoes. To secure a pair of shoes was well-nigh impossible. I have seen women at eleven-thirty P. M. in front of a shoe shop waiting for it to open the next morning at eight-thirty, in order to get their names entered on the list which would entitle them to a pair of shoes in the course of two or three months.

As the war continued all cotton bandages gave out, with the result that paper bandages were employed. In place of absorbent cotton a specially prepared paper pulp was substituted. Restaurants and hotels were prohibited from using table linen, most of their supplies of it being requisitioned by the Government for hospital use. In the finer hotels paper table cloths were then employed; in the ordinary restaurants and hotels one ate from the white wooden table tops. Rooming houses in many cases requested the roomers to bring their own bed linen and towels. Scarcity of soap further increased the inconveniences. Thus my landlady threatened to change my bed linen but once in six weeks in order to save both soap and wear and tear on the linen.

The ever-increasing scarcity of clothing and cloth of all kinds was no doubt responsible for the wonderful progress that was made in the manufacture of woven paper cloths. The finest quality of imitation woolen underwear and dress goods was made from the fiber of the common lowland nettles, which school children were encouraged to gather. There was considerable discussion of the possible cultivation of nettles on a large scale for this cloth manufacture. The underwear possessed good wearing qualities and warmth and when washed according to instructions showed characteristics that compare favorably with woolen and cotton fabrics. External clothing made of paper proved less satisfactory; for some reason it failed to hold its color and under alternating exposure to sun and rain soon faded and became most shabby in appearance. None the less, paper suits saved many from cold and exposure in the winter.

For coarser qualities of paper cloth various wood fibers were utilized, and surprising results were achieved. Even turf from peat bogs was utilized in the manufacture of various qualities of felt and padding materials. Rugs, tapestries, twine and rope, dress goods of all kinds, shades, tapestry effect wall papers, curtains, and harness were some of the things exhibited at a rather fine exposition of paper products held in Berlin early in 1918, which very strikingly demonstrated the great progress made in this new industry and suggested future possibilities.

APPENDIX III

CAMP NEWSPAPERS

I. The Barbed Wireless

Published spasmodically at Ukrainerlager, Rastatt, Baden, by the American Overseas Publishing Company, Incarcerated. Main Office Barracks No. 2.

In order to keep its readers as thoroughly misinformed as possible on all events of no importance whatever, *The Barbed Wireless* has engaged on its reportorial staff the most imcompetent and unreliable writers in captivity.

Written complaints should be carefully worded, using only one side of the paper, addressed plainly to the Kick Department, Wireless Office, and deposited in the waste basket. This will save us the trouble of disposing of them in like manner.

Complaints made in person will be manhandled as promptly and efficiently as the size of the complainant will permit.

The Barbed Wireless is not entered in the post office as second class matter; there being no post office.

Editorial

The Barbed Wireless is a periodical appearing irregularly and on the rare occasions the editors feel themselves animated by a desire to work.

It is published solely in the interests of the American soldiers who find themselves temporarily the guests of the enemy in the delightful community of Rastatt, formerly a summer resort, but now open to Americans throughout the entire year.

The purpose of this embryonic journal is to keep alive the spirit of Americanism, to drive away any gloom and depression that might take root from time to time, and to set down in durable form a record of all events and happenings among us which may prove of interest later on when our life at Rastatt is but a dim memory—a passing flash in the kaleidoscope of life.

In order that we may secure the best possible results in making the paper of interest and value to all, we earnestly request the cooperation and assistance of every American in camp. Contributions of any nature whatever are acceptable. If not printed, they will be thrown out, thereby keeping our office boy busy and out of trouble. Everyone can write, draw, or rhyme something or nothing—funny stuff or deep stuff, jokes, limericks, or sporting dope; no matter what.

Young Men's Christian Association.

We wish at this time on behalf of all Americans here to express our sincere thanks and appreciation to the Y M C A for the kindness and generosity shown us through their representatives, Mr. Conrad Hoffman and Mr. Diehl.

For the benefit of any who may not be acquainted with what has already

been done for us, we publish below a short resume of the gifts received to date: 118 books; 24 games of dominoes; 7 games of Halma; 5 games of Ludo; 7 games of chess; 24 games of checkers; 17 harmonicas; 2 pairs of boxing gloves; 1 baseball; 1 fielder's glove; 2 indoor balls; 2 indoor bats.

Besides this the Y M C A has placed at our disposal a certain sum of money from which any man may draw who is in need.

Certainly as prisoners of war we are extremely fortunate to be able to come in personal touch with such a generous organization. We believe that there are no prisoners of any other nationality that have such an active society to look after their welfare. What has been given us is but a nucleus around which plans are being made to supply us with everything possible to make our time pass quickly, happily, and usefully. Every one of us is highly indebted to the Y M C A. It is therefore our duty to show our gratitude by endeavoring to further its aims, in helping others and in trying ourselves to become bigger and finer men, not only to improve each day in our own lives but to make our presence an example and incentive for others to follow.

Sports

1. In view of the fact that our Y M C A is to furnish us a supply of athletic goods, we urge the athletes of the different barracks to form teams of all kinds.

2. Organize your teams, tell us what you have, and games will be arranged.

3. Card games, chess and checker tournaments, anything for amusement—all together and see what can be done to help fellow-prisoners here.

Theatrical Notes

Actors, jugglers, monologists, circus riders, trapeze manipulators, and other unemployed are wanted by the camp theatrical association which has recently been formed under the general direction of Corporal C. F. Mohn. The Association is affiliated with the Musical Corps of which Corporal H. E. Bergmann is leader, and the two together will be responsible for bringing levity and mirth into the affairs of the camp this winter.

A theater with dressing rooms and stage equipments is to be built by the Y M C A and when it is completed entertainments will be given at frequent intervals. They will include plays, vaudeville sketches, dramatic reading, minstrels, and all manner of musical stunts. Productions will be rehearsed and staged by Private Frederic McConnell, who, before entering the Army, was Assistant Director of the Arts and Crafts Theater, Detroit.

The Association is preparing a list of theatrical material in camp.

Food Exchange Quotations

Tucker Bucket Shop's Last Report

Sugar (lb)	23 boxes hardtack ⅔ can Bully and 3 cigarette papers
Cocoa (½ lb)	27 loaves "Pain" and one can tomatoes
Soap	Priceless
Milk (¼ pt)	2 collar buttons, 1 gold safety pin, and ½ can salmon
Jam per jar	Prices still fluctuating; see next report

Hardtack.....Join our Poker Club—You'll always have plenty
Second Hand Coffee.....6 roubles, 39 kopeks
Snuff (Fleap-Owder Brand)....2 marks per package

Any man in the camp who desires to spend his time in some useful pursuit while detained here, will find nothing better than the Y M C A Bible class.

Surely everyone would like to be able to tell his folks that he has not spent a wasted, useless life in Germany, but on the contrary has been redeeming the time.

Everyone knows that his people would be more than pleased to hear that he is a member of a Bible class. Let's do the right thing. Fellows! Join now!

The class is to be held weekly and for the present we will study the Life of Jesus as narrated in the book entitled "Jesus of Nazareth." It is of interest to note that this book was translated from the French by a few prisoners like ourselves for the use of their companions and others in captivity. It is a simple, well-written story, which, we feel confident, will be enjoyed by all who study it.

Leader Pvt. Bisby.

II. The Rembahn Review

This paper, published by British prisoners at Münster II, demonstrated the splendid humor and spirit of the men.

When down in the mouth, think of Jonah—*he* came out all right!
Cpl. P. Mallinson, Royal Irish.

Hoo can ye dae ocht when ye've nocht tae dae ocht wi'?
Pte. J. S. Marshall, Camerons.

Name and probable wherabouts of the Guy who invented the "catch" phrase, "We're here today and gone tomorrow." Apply.
Bombardier D. G. Blanks, R. F. A.

To Prepare Blue Peas

1. Count out 450 (enough for three persons), boil some water, in which leave the peas to soak for the week-end.
2. Be first man up on the Monday morning and place tin containing peas on the center of the stove.
3. If possible, add a pinch of soda to conserve green shade, failing which throw in a couple of aspirin tablets at intervals of three-quarters of an hour. A sprig or two of mint heightens the flavor; for Canadians, a stick of spearmint will serve. Don't forget to add water each time evaporation is complete. Stir intermittently until done. Arrange to have dinner and tea together. If still hard, don't throw away, as much amusement can be had with a piece of elastic by first class shots during the meal.

THE *LAGER* (Camp) LINGO

I suppose the confusion of Babel made such a mess of the highflying schemes of men because it came as a thunderclap of novelty. The world

has progressed since then. We can hardly imagine such a matter having, in these days, such an enormous effect. We know that there are plenty of works which do not shut down merely because the workers do not understand one another. But then, perhaps, Babylon was at peace.

Where any cosmopolitan crowd of *gefangenen* (prisoners) is gathered together, there is the Tower of Babel. Yet the confusion of tongues is surmounted. The camp jargon is the flimsy bridge by which we get some idea, crude though it may be, of what our comrades of other races are thinking, and the amount of thought we can trade with it is surprising. It is compounded with all tongues, yet something enables the stranger to gather meaning from words he has surely never heard before.

The comfort about this go-as-you-please tongue is that the grammar is as simple as the spelling. It is subject to the same law of necessity; you invent it or you leave it alone, as you please, and therein lies, to my mind, its abiding advantage over Esperanto and the other hybrid attempts of men to find a common medium of expression. There are no rules, and consequently no exceptions; the fine—and superfluous—distinctions of past, present, and future are ignored, and there are no irregular verbs to trouble about. Even our stage interpreter of "French as it is spoken" has acquired proficiency in the *Lager* Lingo, and when he despairs of mastering the parts of the verb *"avoir"* he consoles himself with the reflection that he can at least talk *gefangenese*. Many of us can swear in it. That is the final test that proves a man really the master of a language, and no mere walking vocabulary!

A word without which this weird lingo would be seriously hampered is "nix." It is strange, perhaps, that in a prison camp the word most often heard should have a negative meaning. Without it we should be lost, for it has a vast capacity for usefulness, when you try to explain to an anxious foreigner what a thing really is. "Nix mad'mselle," you say to your Russian comrade, "nix madam, but . . . ?" and you make a gesture which implies your idea of the only other remaining member of the indicated sex. "Ja, ja," he replies, "ponemi," and he holds up his fingers to show that he has two daughters. As to how far you carry this particular conversation depends upon whether you think either of them is likely to be pretty, whether you can convince him you are still a bachelor, and other such contingencies. It is a blessed word, "nix."

Apparently, the only English word is "good." We are not great linguists, and our mother tongue borrows more than it lends, which is perhaps a national failing. The phrase, "beaucoup good cha," reveals the truly conglomerate nature of this international jargon. "Much good tea" was one of the consolations of packets from home.

In spite of its deficiencies, of one thing we may be certain—we could not get on without the lingo.

A. E. G.

APPENDIX IV

PERSONNEL

American Y M C A Secretaries who worked among the prisoners of war in Germany:

A. C. Harte
James E. Sprunger
Rev. H. Neander (Swede but served with American secretaries)
Wm. H. Lawall
Claus Olandt
Carl T. Michel
J. Gustav White
J. E. Wehner
E. O. Jacob
J. S. Kennard
Alfred Lowry
Crawford Wheeler
Arthur Siebens
Louis E. Dunn
Lewis W. Wolferz

Neutral Secretaries who worked among the prisoners of war in Germany:

H. Hogsbro.....Dane
M. Hansen.....Dane
O. Hoyer.....Dane
E. Diehl.....Swede
E. Schaetti.....Swiss
P. Arni.....Swiss
J. Brenning.....Swede
H. Roegeberg.....Norwegian
T. Boman.....Norwegian
H. Juhl.....Dane
A. Von Aesch.....Swiss

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NOV 27 '75			

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